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The purpose of this study was to determine what 11th and 12th grade students in social studies classes in Los Angeles County are being taught about what it means to be an employee, i.e., the responsibilities, regulations, problems, rights, and benefits of being a wage or salary earner. Personal interviews, questionnaires, check lists, and tally sheets were used with teachers, publishing company salesmen, and others to obtain responses to questions such as: (1) How is the American labor movement, its history, contributions, problems, and ambitions, presented in the required textbooks and courses of social studies in public high schools? and (2) Are adequate space and explanation devoted to the legislation regulating labor-management relations at the present time? The conclusion of the study was that youth are being taught what it meant to be an employee in the crafts or laboring class up to 1935; however, within the limits of this study, they are not being realistically oriented to the contemporary world of work. The appendixes include data such as the evaluation of 35 labor topics as presented in current textbooks. (CH)

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LABOR IN LEARNING

PUBLIC SCHOOL TREATMENT OF THE WORLD OF WORK

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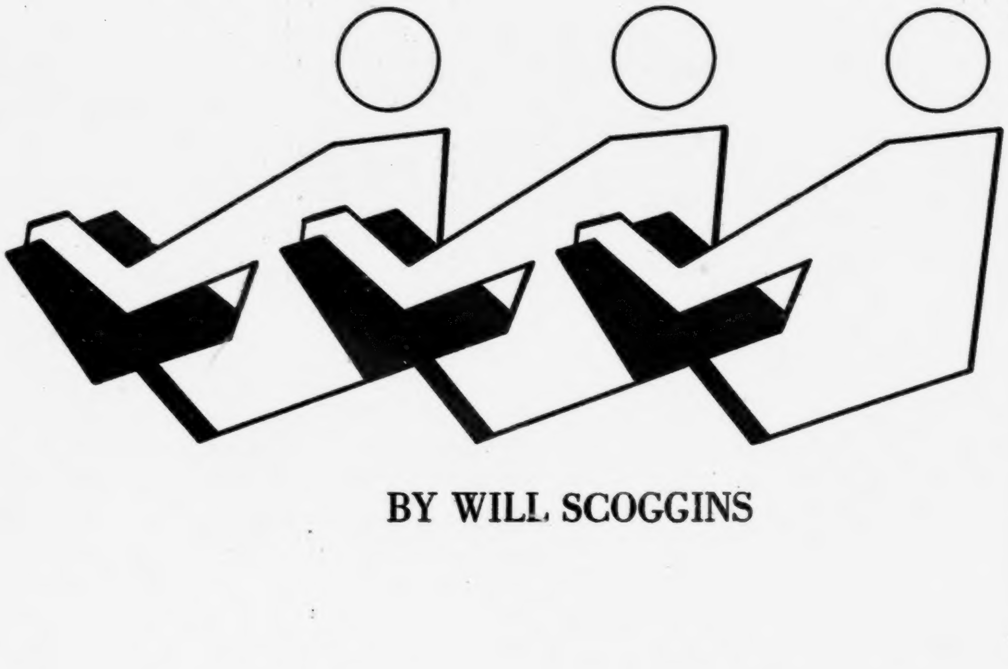

BY WILL SCOGGINS

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INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS · UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

LABOR IN LEARNING:
Public School Treatment of the World of Work

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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LABOR IN LEARNING:

Public School Treatment of the World of Work

By Will Scoggins

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CENTER FOR LABOR RESEARCH AND EDUCATION
INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
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Foreword

The Center for Labor Research and Education of the Institute of Industrial Relations is pleased to launch a new series of research monographs and papers with *Labor In Learning: Public School Treatment of the World of Work*. The author, Will Scoggins, is presently a teacher at El Camino College, California. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree from Baylor University in 1949, and his Master of Science degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1951. In 1960 he attended the University of Oslo while on a Fulbright teaching grant in Norway.

Mr. Scoggins has taught history and government in several high schools and colleges since 1951. He joined the Center's staff for several months in 1964 and 1965 to inquire into the instruction that high schools in Los Angeles County give students who will soon enter the world of work as someone's employee.

This is a critical book, avowedly so. It will please some and displease others; it is designed to do neither. It presents a judgment, sometimes harsh and subjective, of our public schools, school administrators, teachers, textbooks, students—indeed, of all of us who might help our schools to meet contemporary needs.

Despite his many well-sharpened barbs of criticism aimed at the school system and all who participate in it, the author concludes . . . "for all that, there is a hopeful number of splendid, professional men and women, who go every day to face two-hundred students, increasingly large numbers of administrators . . . who try to impart knowledge, concern, ideas . . . a sense of identity in a world of varying cultures . . . ." Mr. Scoggins is convinced that the situation is improving, and this monograph is offered in the hope of making it better.

The viewpoint expressed is that of the author and is not necessarily that of the Center, the Institute, or of the University of California.

BENJAMIN AARON, *Director*
Institute of Industrial Relations
University of California, Los Angeles

Preface

G. K. Chesterton, noted early twentieth-century essayist, supposedly said that Times Square at night would be the most wondrous sight in the world for a man who couldn't read. So it might be said, with less exaggeration, that the United States as portrayed in high school social studies textbooks would seem very near paradise for a man who was blind to economic and social facts.

American agriculture, in these pictures, still springs from gently rolling fields of waving wheat. The pasture joining shows a peaceful herd of Holstein cows, placidly munching thick grass while being watched over by loyal, Lassie-like dogs. The farmer himself is seldom in evidence, and if he is, he is certainly not pictured in long rows of "stoop labor," where men working with ant-like precision harvest the crops in the bountiful valleys of California, returning at night to their "quarters" to count their daily earnings of, say, $7.15 (during the season).

Urban life is presented in rows of neat "ranch-style" homes on quiet, winding streets, with immaculately trimmed lawns and a rainbow of flowers along the parkway. A cluster of merry white children are forever joining beautifully coiffured and eternally young mommies, to wave good-bye to white-shirted and smiling daddies driving away in late-model automobiles to work in spotless laboratories engaged in the creation of fantastic plastic appliances. Daddy always returns to join his little family at a dinner table set to gastronomic perfection, complete with two long tapering candles which will highlight his face as he offers spiritual thanks for the material bounty of his native land.

But for the man who is not blind, for the man who can read and is aware of the economic and social facts of life, what would these same textbooks say to him? What do social studies teachers tell their students who hold these books in their hands? What do they say of the more than seventy million men and women who comprise our labor force? What do they say of unions, their history, purposes, techniques, and goals? What of social-economic welfare legislation? Of government assistance in regulating and maintaining the forward momentum of our economy? Of future problems of economic organization? What do they say of collective action, past and present, and of people who now desire change of their conditions? And finally, what do they impart to the very young men and women, to the students finishing their high school education, of what really awaits them when they graduate and embark on the task of earning a living in the United States in the seventh decade of the twentieth century?

It is in the hope of answering some of these questions that this monograph was written. Among my friends and colleagues at UCLA, Frederic Meyers and Fred H. Schmidt provided unremitting encouragement and excellent direction to my search for answers. I was aided by Mai Kato and Judith Chanin Glass in the research and interviewing; the task of editing was ably done by Felicitas Hinman under the most difficult of circumstances. My special gratitude goes to Stella Herman for assistance in so many phases of the work. None of these persons should be further burdened by having to take any responsibility for the conclusions of this search—those are my own, and, if any are founded on errors, those errors are mine as well.

WILL SCOGGINS

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Introduction

AN OBSERVATION AND A QUESTION: THE ECONOMICS OF EMPLOYMENT

This study is essentially based on an observation and a question. *The observation:* The overwhelming majority of today's young Americans expect to become employed. The very first year following their graduation from high school finds 90 percent of boys who do not attend college in the labor force, and a startling 72 percent of the girls are joining them. Boys and girls together are becoming somebody's employees. Only a tiny fraction, less than 1.5 percent, begin as self-employed or proprietary workers.[1] *The question:* What are these young people being taught about what it means to be an employee? This basic question has nothing to do with the particular vocation the young person may be learning. It has to do, however, with responsibilities, regulations, problems, rights and benefits of being a wage or salary earner. It has to do also with the history and with the future of work.

Possibly the young can learn much about the economics of employment from many sources: the press, television, the family, the church. But what are they learning about it in school? What are our schools teaching about the economics of being an employee? Clearly, the schools are interested. The State Board of Education says it is interested. The Joint Council on Economic Education is interested. Businessmen and labor leaders are interested.

Businessmen, being honest and unashamed champions of self-interest, have long realized the importance of getting their point of view registered in the public schools. They have done this by occupying the chairs of the boards of education,[2] and by welcoming the school administrators into their service clubs and into their private and social confidence. This camaraderie between business and education has been facilitated by the fact that a large number of school administrators (who have increased rapidly in both number and importance during the past fifty years[3]), principals, and superintendents take much of their university and college work in administration *per se,* or, in a large number of cases, in physical education, whence they move from the position of locally popular football coach to that of boys' vice-principal. In short, the businessman and the school administrator are likely to "speak the same language."

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[1] Vera C. Perrella, "Employment of High School Graduates and Dropouts in 1963," *Monthly Labor Review,* May 1964, pp. 522-529.

[2] "Who Runs the Public Schools," *American Federationist,* July 1963, pp. 21–22. "An estimated 83 percent of all board of education members come from business and professional ranks. The professionals are largely doctors and lawyers whose interest seldom departs far from that of the businessmen."

[3] Martin Mayer, *The Schools* (New York: Harper, 1961), pp. 21–22. "In America nearly 10 percent of the staff is engaged the whole time in 'supervision.' New York City employs more people in educational administration than all of France; New York State and its school districts, taken together, employ more administrators than all of Western Europe."

The businessman is available to speak in high school classes,[4] and to publish and distribute materials calculated to impress the students with the doctrine that "our continued progress as a people depends . . . upon a broad understanding of our free competitive system and its benefits to all."[5] For example, an extensive study conducted in 1963 revealed that American business, understanding "the essential nature of the educational enterprise," contributed "as a modest estimate" $160 million for "educational materials, programs, and services." Business respondents to this research stated that they wished to "help teacher efficiency" and to "help educators and students understand the aims, accomplishments, problems, and needs of the free enterprise system, and of individual business—the practical side of business in terms of economics, people and skills."[6]

Men from labor, on the other hand, have been either less concerned or less effective in making sure that an adequate understanding of the role of labor in the economy was achieved. Few representatives of labor know members of the school boards or administrators, either socially or professionally. In fact, only six percent of school board members belong to unions.[7] Nor has labor in the past allocated a large budget to educational materials. However, union leaders have often voiced regret and frustration at what they believe the schools have done with labor's position. The late Phillip Murray sounded an angry note when he exploded:

> What burns the hell out of us labor people most of all is that schools go on their merry way teaching so-called history and so-called social studies, hardly even recognizing the existence of the labor movement or labor-management relations.[8]

And Ben Seligman, Director of Education and Research for the Retail Clerks' International Association, undoubtedly reflects the frustration of most of organized labor when he writes:

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[4] At one of the high schools visited during this study, there are six class periods per semester set aside for talks by members of the local Chamber of Commerce.

[5] Haig Babian, "Economic Education: How It Began and Why," *Challenge,* March 1964, p. 3. Mr. Babian is quoting the National Association of Manufacturers' justification for their booklet program.

[6] Albert L. Ayars, "How Business and Industry Are Helping the Schools," *Saturday Review of Literature,* October 17, 1964.

[7] "Who Runs the Public Schools," *op. cit.*

[8] "Labor Has a Plan for Public Education," *Nation's Schools,* January 1949, p. 24.

> Is it too much to ask that the teaching of economics in schools be relevant to the lives of the students and their families? Since so large a proportion of students will be working for a livelihood, shouldn't they learn that a collective bargaining agreement establishes on-the-job rules, spells out work relationships, provides for grievance and arbitration machinery—in short, is something more than a lever for moving up wages?... Should not students learn something of the broader economic issues that will affect their futures—'full' employment, economic growth, taxes, housing, government spending and prices?[9]

Certainly, the schools have felt little pressure from labor's ranks to alter their approach to the teaching of social studies. Thus, a recent poll of sixteen thousand high school principals concerning outside pressures found that the pressure least frequently mentioned was "local labor organizations," with only five percent mentioning it at all.[10]

There is increasing pressure from many sources to have a full semester, or even a full-year course, of economics included in the senior high school curriculum (as recommended by the National Task Force on Economic Education). Indeed, some enthusiasts would have such a course required for all high school graduates.

This inquiry, however, is not devoted to assessing formal economics courses as such, but instead focuses on the usual social studies requirements of U.S. History in the 11th grade, and U.S. Government and American Problems in the 12th grade.[11] Within this limited scope we will attempt to answer the following questions: (1) How is the American labor movement, its history, contributions, problems, and ambitions presented in the required textbooks and courses of social studies in the public high schools? (2) Are adequate space and explanations devoted to the legislation regulating labor-management relations at the present time? (3) Is social and economic security legislation presented in an understandable and unbiased manner? (4) Is the role of government in the domestic economy of the nation described? (5) Is the present and future presented as a period of continuing problems and of evolving pragmatic solutions?

High schools in the county of Los Angeles have been selected as a focal point because the county is large, thus allowing for a wide range of variation and comparative data, and because it has a national reputation of having better than average schools. Textbooks required for social studies classes were selected and read on the basis of high school reading lists. Further, instruction guides and supplementary materials, such as pamphlets and films, were examined. Personal interviews were conducted with teachers, publishing-company salesmen and others who might help in finding answers and insights on the questions posed above. The parts to follow are an account of our findings.

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[9] "The View of Organized Labor," *Challenge,* March 1964, p. 33.

[10] Los Angeles *Times,* June 16, 1965.

[11] Morris P. Moffatt, *Social Studies Instruction* (3rd ed.; Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963), p. 11. Mr. Moffatt says that the term "social studies" was first used in 1916 by the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Education Association. The Committee defined the term: "The social studies are understood to be those whose subject matter relates directly to the organization and development of human society and to man as a member of social groups."

Martin Mayer, *op. cit.,* says on page 353 that Charles A. Beard, historian, was the first to use the term "social studies," and that he grew to despise the term.

Dr. Max Rafferty, in *Suffer, Little Children* (New York: Devin-Adair Co., 1962), says on page 154 that the terms "social studies and language arts" should be relegated to the scrap heap reserved for outworn clichés like "23 Skiddoo" and "Oh, you Kid."

Part I

THE BOOKS

Los Angeles County offered forty-six separate high school districts for investigation. Each high school district, regardless of size, purchases its own textbooks largely out of its own local tax resources. Although a certain amount of state aid is available to each district, depending upon its average daily attendance (and perhaps other factors such as need), this aid accounts for relatively little in the total budget. This independence of purchase also holds true for each high school within the general framework of the Los Angeles City schools. In sum, each high school principal, through his advisors, can use his allotted budget in any manner he sees fit.

Textbook committees are appointed to approve the textbooks to be used. In the Los Angeles City schools the committee consists of about twenty teachers and administrators from different schools. Each textbook approval must be maintained for a minimum period of three years.[1] The textbook committee system seems to be in use generally for the high schools of the entire County. Since, according to the rules, all adoptions must be maintained for at least three years, and since severe budget limitations frequently require the practice of actually using books until they fall apart, there will always be several different texts, as well as several different editions of the same text, in use at any given school at any given time.

A considerable amount of supplementary materials such as books, pamphlets, films, etc., is available in all schools. In the City system, a Committee on Free Material checks and approves these supplements if the materials are privately offered. Otherwise supplementary materials are bought by the individual high school in the same manner as the textbooks. Supplementary materials fall generally into two categories: those kept and used in the classroom, for example, the widely used *Senior Scholastic* and *The Outlook* (the latter published by the Los Angeles

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[1] There is no state-approved list of books for the high schools as there is for the elementary grades. There is a state list of approved publishers of books. However, any publisher who will post a bond, revokable if it is found that he submits books which are insulting, inaccurate, or generally salacious in their content, can be placed on that list. There are about seventy publishers engaged primarily in publishing school textbooks nationally, with a business of well over a quarter of a billion dollars annually. Apparently, no publisher has ever lost his bond in California. (Conversation with Mrs. Elizabeth A. Pellett, Consultant for Secondary Education, Los Angeles County Schools Office.)

Times), and those kept and used in the library or in some central place in the school. A third category would consist of supplementary material "bootlegged" into classrooms by zealous teachers, a fact acknowledged not only by the teachers themselves but also by an occasional candid administrator. This practice complicates the investigation of approved textbooks, because these teachers may accept the committee-adopted textbooks but actually use the supplements.

Another complication concerns the numerous schools which use "homogeneous" groupings of students based on supposed ability. The groupings are usually three in number—dull, average, and bright. Such words, among others equally direct, are never used by the school authorities themselves lest the student in the first group should suspect his failing. Since these groups vary considerably in size and differ drastically in capacity from school to school, the textbooks used for dull students in one school, where achievement is generally high, will be used for the average group in another school, where achievement is generally low.

On the basis of the "October Reports" (reports required by the State Department of Education in which each school district must list the basic textbooks in use in the various courses), variations in approved textbook use as to editions and popularity were computed. We found that in the forty-six districts maintaining high schools in the county of Los Angeles, there are 45 different editions of 27 different books used as basic texts in the 11th grade U.S. History courses; there are 70 different editions of 43 different books used in the 12th grade U.S. Government and American Problems courses. In the Los Angeles City schools, there are 8 basic texts used for courses in U.S. History, 6 for U.S. Government, and 9 for Contemporary American Problems and Government.

A popularity ranking of textbooks was obtained, based on the number of copies of each textbook actually owned by the various school districts. In this manner it was possible to rank "most popular" textbooks, as well as those used in isolated schools, or even textbooks used for special classes in a particular school. It was also possible to eliminate from consideration many books of extremely limited use and concentrate on those available to most students. The textbooks most used in high schools in Los Angeles County, in order of popularity, are the following:

U.S. HISTORY

1. Bragdon and McCutchen. *History of a Free People.* New York: Macmillan, 1964.
2. Harlow and Noyes. *Story of America.* Boston: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1961.
3. Muzzey and Link. *Our American Republic.* Boston: Ginn & Co., 1963.

4. Gavian and Hamm. *The American Story.* Boston: Heath & Co., 1959.
5. Todd and Curti. *Rise of the American Nation.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1961.
6. Muzzey and Link. *Our Country's History.* Boston: Ginn & Co., 1964.
7. Canfield and Wilder. *The Making of Modern America.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1962.
8. Eibling, King and Harlow. *Our United States, A Bulwark of Freedom.* River Forest, Illinois: Laidlaw Brothers, 1962.
9. Brown, Helgeson and Lobdell. *The United States of America: A History for Young Citizens.* Morristown, New Jersey: Silver Burnett Co., 1963.
10. Graff and Krout. *The Adventures of the American People.* Chicago: Rand McNally, 1961.
11. Hamm, W. A. *From Colony to World Power.* Boston: Heath & Co., 1957.
12. Ver Steeg. *The American People: Their History.* New York: Harper & Row, 1964.
13. Gardner. *West's Story of Our Country.* Rockleigh, New Jersey: Allyn & Bacon, 1960.
14. Moon and Cline. *Story of Our Land and People.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1961.
15. Abramowitz. *American History Study Lessons Unit 6.* Chicago: The Follett Basic Learnings Program, 1963.
16. Bailey. *American Pageant: A History of the Republic.* Boston: Heath & Co., 1964.
17. Clark, Compton, and Hendrickson. *Freedom's Frontier.* Chicago: Lyons & Carnaham, 1960.
18. Miers (ed.). *The American Story.* Des Moines: Channel Press, 1956.

In addition, there are two books of documents in widespread use for U.S. History courses: Commager's *Documents of American History.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1958; and Craven, Johnson, and Dunn's *A Documentary History of the American People.* Boston: Ginn & Co., 1951. Since these books are not used as texts *per se,* they will not be included in our analysis charts, but will be treated separately.

U.S. GOVERNMENT

1. McClenaghan. *Magruder's American Government.* Rockleigh, New Jersey: Allyn & Bacon, 1964.
2. Bruntz. *Understanding Our Government.* Boston: Ginn & Co., 1959.
3. Rienow. *American Government in Today's World.* Boston: Heath & Co., 1962.
4. Brown and Peltier. *Government in Our Republic.* New York: Macmillan, 1960.

5. Haefner, Bruce, and Carr. *Our Living Government.* Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1960.
6. Posey and Huegli. *Government for Americans.* New York: Row, Peterson & Co., 1959.
7. Clark and Aitchison. *Civics for Americans.* New York: Macmillan, 1959.
8. Posey. *Civics for Young Americans.* New York: Row, Peterson & Co., 1956.
9. Dimond. *Our American Government.* Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1963.
10. Brown, Cashin, Kovinick and Lockard. *Comparative Government, Economics and World Affairs.* Published by the Centinela Valley Union High School District, 1961.

AMERICAN PROBLEMS

1. Blaich and Baumgartner. *The Challenge of Democracy.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960.
2. Landis. *Social Living.* Boston: Ginn & Co., 1958.
3. Hall and Klinger. *Problem Solving in Our American Democracy.* Lancaster, Texas: American Book Co., 1961.
4. Arnold and Philippi. *Challenges to American Youth.* New York: Row, Peterson & Co., 1958.
5. Hanna. *Facing Life's Problems.* Chicago: Rand McNally, 1957.

These books were read and analyzed: there are more than 25,000 copies of the most popular book *History of a Free People,* and fewer than 500 of *The American Story,* in use. For the purpose of this study, we saw no reason to pursue the reading of books below that figure.

To explain the number of different books and different editions of the same book in use, the following reasons may be cited: (1) Research constantly adds new information to affect current thinking; what was thought to be true before no longer seems so true or so pertinent. (2) Although information itself may not actually change, the attitude of potential textbook buyers does. For example, most of the books still in use in high schools in Los Angeles County do not show a single picture of a non-Caucasian face. However, since approximately seven hundred-thousand Negroes and Orientals now live in Los Angeles County, general pressure from civil rights organizations and interested scholars have encouraged the publishers to bring out editions showing integrated groups.[2] Another example of change in attitude, indicating the effect of more explicit pressure, is found in changes made in the 1962 edition of *Our United States, A Bulwark of Freedom,* by Eibling, King, and Harlow, as compared with the 1961 edition. There are only eight changes, and three of them amount to the substitution of the word "Republic" for the word "Democracy."[3] It is not within the scope of this study to debate the question of whether or not the United States is in fact a republic or a democracy. But, parenthetically, it should be pointed out that many right-wing political groups have made an issue of that question. The publishers may have felt the political pulse of a particular area and subsequently brought out an edition to reflect its tempo.[4] (3) Finally, there seems to be evidence that textbook publishers, like automobile manufacturers, come out with revisions simply because of modern America's constant demand for a "new model." There is probably no business more competitive than textbook publishing. Publishers know all too well that the life span of a particular edition may be limited, especially when the field representatives of their competitors will be at the doorstep of curriculum planners with increasingly glossy, picture-filled, annotated, and indexed wonders—complete with tests, charts, workbooks and manuals. This is the old "publish or perish" dictum from another direction.[5]

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[2] A representative of Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, one of the largest school textbook publishers, said in an interview: "If you want all-white pictures, we will give you all-white pictures; if you want them integrated, we integrate them."

No teacher wants to be thought a drone. He wants to be on top of his subject, meaning, at least in part, that he has a familiarity with the literature in his field.[6] To the high school teacher—overworked and harassed as he may be—knowledge of the literature in his field may be simply a knowledge of recent textbooks. And, more often than not, he seems to choose the more recent ones. The publishers, on the other hand, are well aware that teachers have limited time and energy to prepare themselves, that they have social, family, and economic obligations, and that they are frequently called upon to teach courses other than those in which they specialized in college.[7] They have attempted to increase sales by bringing out a package plan, instructing the teacher as well as the student. Thus Martin Mayer, in *The Schools* (p. 381), quotes James Reid of Harcourt Brace: "Today you don't just publish a textbook, you publish a program."

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[3] A sentence on page 188, which originally read, "The members of the convention, acting on the plan devised by Madison, worked out the Constitution or written plan of government providing for a Democracy with three branches of government" has been changed to "... providing for a Republic with three ...."

[4] Interview with a publisher's representative, now retired after many years of service: "It's true; we used to whitewash the things so that they would be accepted by most groups. But then, we weren't feeling the pressure that we are under now. The thing we really have to watch out for are rabble rousers in the community, usually some religious group, who find something in a book they don't like. They then go to the board of education, and the board calls me in for an explanation. There is more opposition to textbooks from religious points of view than any other. Very little ever comes from labor."

[5] Interview with retired publisher's representative: "It used to be that an edition was expected to last from three to five years. Now, it is down below three. In some cases, a new edition must be prepared about every other year. Sometimes, even a simple change is necessary just to keep the book from being regarded as old-fashioned by the kids. For example, we spent thousands of dollars a few years ago because some of the pictures showed skirts that were then too short for the style."

[6] See Maurice G. Baxter, Robert H. Ferrell, and John E. Wiltz, *The Teaching of American History in High Schools* (Bloomington: The University of Indiana Press, 1964), p. 137. Teachers are even willing to exaggerate a bit in leading the researcher to think this. Professor Baxter and his associates at the University of Indiana found that 37 percent of the teachers of American History polled said they had read or had heard of books which were, in fact, fictitious.

Textbooks are written by teachers or administrators, and there may be at least one college professor in the collaborative effort. The writing itself is seldom spontaneous but is most often commissioned by the publisher. Once the book is completed, the editors and their staffs may rewrite the book, aiming it specifically at a particular "reading level," and in some instances at a particular section of the country.[8] This does not mean that the original author, professor or teacher, is not responsible for his book. He is responsible for its content and its direction—if it has one. But most publishers recognize that his style may not be suitable for the student of average or below-average ability. The "readability formulae" are described by Martin Mayer: "These devices, typically, add the number of words in a sentence, multiply by syllables, punctuation marks, clauses, etc., and divide by an arbitrary constant to give an Arabic numeral which scientifically expresses 'readability.' "[9]

In order to analyze the textbooks on the broadest possible basis and to subject them to quantitative and qualitative scrutiny, a check list of 35 topics was prepared. It was felt that the topics selected *should* be covered in high school social studies textbooks. Moreover, they were selected for their importance to students destined so soon to become employees. They are important either because they convey information essential to one who will be a worker for others, or because they condition the student's attitude towards employee organizations and other forms of collective effort devoted to improve the lot of an employee in the world of economic activities. This check list—admittedly arbitrary—was prepared with the assistance of two senior colleagues of the Institute of Industrial Relations of the University of California at Los Angeles.

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[7] This is especially true in economics, or in the units on economics, in History and Government and Problems courses, since very few social studies teachers have taken a major or a minor, or, indeed, have taken more than one course, in economics. *Economic Education in the Schools,* a report of the National Task Force on Economic Education, September 1961, p. 9.

[8] A representative of Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, preferring to remain anonymous, said, "We have probably 50 guys who actually write the book; it's done pretty much by formula."

[9] Martin Mayer, *The Schools* (New York: Harper, 1961), p. 378.

Although we were aware that some of the topics would be covered more thoroughly than others, and that probably all topics are not covered in all books, the check list allowed an evaluation of each book according to the thoroughness with which each topic is treated.[10] Our data was collected based on eighteen textbooks most widely used for the 11th grade U.S. History course, and fifteen textbooks for the 12th grade U.S. Government and American Problems course.

In the following pages, the findings tabulated in Appendix A will be described as objectively as possible. However, it is well to remember that in any analysis of the work of others the dangers of didacticism are always great. Moreover, I as the author have a notion of what I believe *should* be said, and as a teacher of American history, I know what I *do* say on these matters. I have therefore occasionally included personal remarks as to why a point seems important to me. But, in fairness to the reader, these more subjective parts of the analysis will be found under the heading "Comments" and can, of course, be bypassed at the reader's discretion.

A: Formal Analysis of Topics

(See Appendix A for a tabulation of the findings on the items discussed in this section.)

Strikes and Lockouts

The first topic in our analysis considers the accounts given of strikes and lockouts: why they started, and how they were settled. In virtually every textbook analyzed, the emphasis on violence during work stoppages is extremely pronounced, and graphic illustrations reflect this point. For example, one famous picture, taken from *Harper's Weekly* and showing cavalrymen galloping ahead of a train during the Pullman strike in 1894, while strikers along the tracks shake their fists and wave clubs in the air, appears in over half of the textbooks examined. Pictures of violence during the Homestead strike, of the Molly Maguires, and of the Railroad strike of 1877 are also usually included.

The text accompanying such portrayals is exemplified by the following: Muzzey and Link, in *Our American Republic* (p. 392), and also in *Our Country's History* (p. 385), discuss the Pullman strike:

> Trains were ditched, freight cars destroyed, and buildings looted and burned. At some points the Federal troops opened fire on the mob in order to protect their own lives. Debs and his chief associates were arrested for contempt of court.

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[10] The order and length of discussion of the 35 topics is entirely arbitrary and does not reflect the author's emphasis or preference of one subject over another.

Gardner, in *West's Story of Our Country,* says of the Pullman strike,

> Chicago became the storm center of the strike. President Cleveland finally decided it was his duty to send troops there to make it possible for trains to run so that the mails could be delivered.

The author continues:

> When violence broke out during this strike, President Cleveland (over the protests of Governor Altgeld) sent Federal troops to restore order, safeguard the mail, and protect interstate commerce.

Blaich and Baumgartner, in *The Challenge of Democracy* (p. 285) concerning the unfortunate Haymarket Riot, say, "One hundred and twenty-five people were killed or seriously injured by the explosion of an anarchist's bomb."[11] Graff and Krout, in *The Adventure of the American People* (p. 548), say concerning the Boston Police Strike in 1919: "Hoodlums had a field day, smashing windows and looting stores practically at will." A similar account is given by Todd and Curti in *Rise of The American Nation.*[12]

Strikers' violence, then, is emphasized with little explanation of the economic causes of the strike. Also, strikes are described as accomplishing nothing save trouble for all parties, especially the general public. Moon and Cline, in *Story of Our Land and People* (p. 541), say: "During a strike, everybody loses: workers, owners, and the general public." Clark, Compton, and Hendrickson, in *Freedom's Frontier* (p. 583), opine:

> After a sincere study of most economic-political problems, we are not likely to agree with the extreme arguments of either side. . . . We become more and more convinced that study, conferences, and compromise are much better means of settling differences than arguments, violence, or bloodshed.

Muzzey and Link, in *Our American Republic* (p. 638), reproduce a cartoon from the National Education Association Service, showing two big thugs whose names are "Strikes" and "Rumors of Strikes" beating up a very small, helpless man whose name is "Public Welfare." In the background, a man called "Congress" comes to the rescue, carrying a large paddle called "Tighter Labor Laws." The caption under the cartoon is "Won't They Ever Learn?"

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[11] The truth is that *one* person was killed by that bomb and about 50 others were knocked off their feet, some, no doubt, fairly seriously. These authors also give the largest membership figure of the Knights of Labor as 200,000. Reliable accounts say that the Knights had, at their peak, 700,000 members. See Faulkner and Starr, *Labor in America* (New York: Harper, 1944), p. 95; and Philip Taft, *Organized Labor in American History* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 119.

[12] The Boston Police Strike, although still shrouded in controversy since it involved the right of public employees to strike, seems to have resulted in little unusual damage. The estimates of damages done as a result of the 48-hour lack of police protection indicate that $34,000 worth of property damage was sustained. Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare, A Study in National Hysteria 1919-1920* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), p. 128. See also Boston *Evening Transcript,* September 10-11, 1919.

In Gardner's *West's Story of Our Country* (p. 214), the author editorializes:

> In many ways the workers suffer more from a strike than anyone else. If the strike lasts long, they are in danger of starving. Though the owner's business also suffers, he need not actually worry about where he will get his next meal. . . . The general public suffers, too. Strikes are a wasteful way of settling disputes, as war is a wasteful way of settling quarrels between nations.

In Rienow's *American Government in Today's World* (p. 472), under the heading "Labor Organization" the author says:

> . . . thus started a political contest. Under the stimulation of national legislation we have entered an age of big labor unions as well as big industry. The emphasis of government action must now center on the protection of the fellow in the middle, the American public.

Immediately below, he goes into this question of the public interest, starting off with: "Labor-management issues have become a battle of titans. It is therefore possible that without government watchfulness there might be no consideration for the consumer."

On page 675 of *Magruder's American Government,* we find a cartoon taken from the Boston *Herald Traveler,* showing in the foreground a poor little man with broken glasses, sitting on the ground, a knot on his head, scratches on his face, with a sign "Bus Stop" wrapped around his neck. He has been run over. In the background two big thugs, "Management" and "Union," are fighting. The caption: "First Casualty. Often times when labor and management quarrel and a strike results, the general public suffers the most. The public is always a 'silent party' at the labor-management bargaining table." Brown and Peltier, in *Government in Our Republic* (p. 546), discussing this same issue, reproduce a cartoon by Fitzpatrick from the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* showing two giants named "Big Labor" and "Big Business" in a tug-of-war while bracing their feet against the crumbling ruins of a large city.

Blaich and Baumgartner, in *The Challenge of Democracy* (p. 284), insist that, "maintaining harmony between labor and management is one of the most important problems with which our society must cope." In the same book on page 296, concerning the role of management, the authors present a favorable image of management and finish the passage with, ". . . but the greatest achievement of industry is possible only when labor and management work together as a team." Farther along, on page 308, we read:

> Unfortunately, the problems of labor relations often become a political football. To attract the labor vote, some politicians grant unfair concessions to labor. Other politicians favor management in the hope of getting campaign funds. The public interest can be adequately protected only through wise leadership by representatives of both labor and management.

An adequate description or explanation of strikes and lockouts should neither apologize nor exaggerate, neither minimize nor moralize. Differences between management and labor have existed historically, still do exist, and probably will exist in the foreseeable future.[13]

Although half of the U.S. History and four-fifths of U.S. Government and Problems textbooks are either inadequate or unduly biased in their treatment of strikes and lockouts, there are, of course, examples of adequate treatment of these subjects. Ver Steeg, in *The American People: Their History* (pp. 471–72), takes as an example the Homestead strike of 1892 and says:

> The Homestead Steel Mills were a part of the Carnegie Steel holdings. In the summer of 1892 some skilled workers, who were members of the steel union, refused to accept wage cuts. These skilled workers were supported in their demands by the other workers in the plant. Henry Clay Frick, whom Carnegie had placed in charge, was bitterly opposed to unions. Not only did he refuse to negotiate with the workers, but he also made it clear that he intended to destroy the effectiveness of the steel union to which these skilled workers belonged. When negotiations failed, Frick shut down the entire plant. He employed special deputy sheriffs to protect strikebreakers who were hired in the place of the workers who were on strike. In response, the workers made certain the deputy sheriffs did not take up their duties.

Ver Steeg goes on to describe the ensuing engagement between the strikers and the Pinkerton detectives with precision, but without unnecessary dramatics. Having done so, he says:

> Frick, representing the company, and the workers had both taken the law into their own hands. The result was violence and bloodshed. When this episode was investigated by Congress, both sides were blamed. The Homestead strike, however, demonstrated how bitter the feeling was on each side; and it

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[13] Jack Barbash, "Union Philosophy and the Professional," *American Teacher,* December 1957. Professor Barbash establishes six basic principles which he believes should be recognized before beginning any study about the relationships between employers and employees.

> Principle number 1: An employee-employer relationship *inevitably,* and I underscore the word inevitably, generates problems between the employer and employee. The more employees, the more problems, and the more complex are the problems. . . . Principle number 2: The character of the work makes little difference as to whether problems exist between the employee and the employer. . . . Principle number 3: It doesn't matter, either, who the employer happens to be, for serious problems to exist. The employer-employee relationship has the same thrust whether the employer is an individual, a corporation, a government, a social agency or a union. . . . Principle number 4: There are essential differences of interests between those who are employed and those who employ. The employee wants to earn or to save money. The employer wants to get more money out of the business and keep costs down. It is as simple as that. The employer wants greater freedom in running his business. The employee wants greater freedom as an individual. . . . Principle number 5: If there is a difference of interest between two parties, neither side can be trusted to protect adequately the interests of the other. . . . Principle number 6: The only practical way to resolve differences in interest between employers and employees is through a mechanism which permits either side to say No and get away with it. Or as an alternative, if both sides say No to each other, which means an impasse has been reached, then there must be some impartial third party who can decide between the parties.

showed that when the interests of the two groups collided, a solution was not always reached by peaceful negotiations. These clashes of interest foreshadowed the growing significance in the twentieth century of labor-management relations. The welfare of the entire nation would often depend on a reasonable and equitable solution to disagreements.

Adequacy in the discussion of strikes and lockouts should include the explanation of several things: the issues underlying a dispute, the changing nature of these issues, the legal position of the union, and the conduct of the strike. It requires a frank look at the changes in the demands of labor and in the expectations of management in such matters as seniority, job security, full employment, work procedures, and "fringe benefits."

Comments: In the opinion of this author, most textbooks generally fail to show that the often troubled relationship between management and labor is, in fact, a part of industrial democracy. Human rights in the United States have evolved from a continuing process and did not spring full-blown from the minds of the founding fathers of our Republic. The history of the United States is the history of people, working together, reaching out and seizing rights—rights we no longer question, but which, when first demanded, seemed visionary and even dangerous. Rights, whether social, political or economic, have no final form in a democratic society. They are, at any given time, whatever the people of that society insist upon. Workers have insisted on the right to better wages, shorter working hours, and safer working conditions, and they have utilized the strike to help secure these rights. But "better," "shorter," and "safer" have meaning only in relation to something which existed before. We have not, nor will we ever, within the present framework of the free collective bargaining, arrive at the *ideal* wage, workweek, or working conditions. The collective action of workers, and of all other groups in our society, will continue to demand more rights, more security—in short, a better life. The strike, as part of labor-management dialogues, is indispensable in a free society. The alternatives are to give the government the power to determine wages, hours, and working conditions, which both labor and management have resisted, or to move backwards, surrendering the worker to the arbitrary will of the employer, his bargaining power to the law of supply and demand, and his economic security to the individual profit motive.

Political Activity of Unions

The second topic analyzed was the textbooks' treatment of the political activities of unions. Here, we looked for a recognition, in some form, of the fact that American trade unions and their members have been deeply involved in the historical political processes of our country and, indeed, have made indisputable contributions toward establishing some of the laws and institutions which are now generally considered basic to a democratic society. Specifically, on free public school legislation, the textbooks exhibit a remarkable consistency. Horace Mann is given almost personal and sole credit for the founding of the public school system in the United States. In only two of the books analyzed, the authors mention that a young state legislator in Pennsylvania, Thaddeus Stevens, in 1832, pushed through the first practical, successful, tax-supported school bill in the United States, with workingmen's backing. One reason for this may be that Stevens—again consistently—is damned by textbooks for his radical program of reconstruction following the Civil War and for his insistence on racial equality at that time. It is to be expected that school books should praise public-school legislation itself, but objective treatment would require that they mention Stevens and organized labor as contributing to it. If the student is left without historic knowledge of how this important institution developed, it is understandable that he may be ill-equipped to comprehend why American unions are now taking such active roles in the legislative contests over federal financial aid to education, medical care under the Social Security system, the redistricting of legislative bodies, housing and urban redevelopment programs, and other major issues that compete for his attention on leaving high school.

Half of the eighteen History texts were completely silent on union political activities. Almost all of the Government texts mentioned them, but only five gave what might be considered an adequate account.

In one of the better treatments of these issues, Bragdon and McCutchen, in *History of a Free People* (p. 282), say concerning labor's political activities in the 1830's:

> Not only did the unions make the obvious demands regarding hours and wages; they also threw their weight behind many of the reforms of the Jacksonian Period. No people were more interested in the founding of public schools than the trade societies. They were no less insistent than western frontiersmen in demanding cheap public land on easy terms. They were in the forefront of the movement to abolish imprisonment for debt. In 1830 it was estimated that 75,000 people a year were thrown into common jails for unpaid debts, often of trifling amount. Still another labor demand was for "mechanics' lien laws," which would require that the unpaid wages of workingmen be the first claim on the assets of a bankrupt employer. Without such protection workers were often left holding the bag. . . . In order to obtain their demands, laborers went into politics. In 1829 a Workingmen's party put up candidates for local offices in New York City and managed to poll 6,000 out of 20,000 votes.

Canfield and Wilder, in *The Making of Modern America* (p. 204), say concerning the same period in history:

Workers began to use this political strength to improve living and working conditions. In 1828 they formed a Workingmen's Party in Philadelphia. Among other things, this new party demanded:

1. Public education
2. Equal taxation
3. Election of all public officials by the voters
4. An end to the practice of imprisoning debtors.

In New York another Workingmen's Party with a similar platform elected a candidate for the legislature in an exciting campaign in 1829. These early political efforts brought some results. Laws were passed which forbade sending a man to jail because he was unable to pay a debt. A beginning was made in free public education. Some laws were passed to make factory work safer for employees. Such changes alarmed property owners, who began to make gloomy predictions about the future. But these early labor parties did not last long. Labor leaders lacked political experience, and there were many disagreements within the parties. The people who owned property opposed the labor parties at every turn.

Comments: It seems to me that an understanding of these issues is basic to any approach to current problems. Unbiased information is important to any student leaving school to enter a world in which there is as yet no consensus on the realities of civil rights, on where the line should be drawn between human rights and property rights, between federal authority and local control, between personal and social responsibilities, and on many other matters on which the mind of America has been undecided since the writing of the Federalist Papers, and even before. It should not come as a postgraduation awareness to find, for example, that labor has a Committee on Political Education, that it makes contributions to candidates and organizes block workers in elections, and that it spends large sums lobbying for its interest, as do all other organized economic groups in the country. The student should sense that all of this is an extension of a process that helped put Andrew Jackson in the presidency and gave a great thrust to the democratic processes of our government. Perhaps if the student acquired such an awareness, he would also understand why it is that American unions are distinguished in almost all the world for their reliance on the existing political party system rather than labor parties of their own creation; that they have organized themselves according to the needs of immediate collective bargaining goals instead of the requirements of any political dialectic.

Injunctions Against Unions

"Injunctions in Labor Disputes," the third item tabulated, concerns one of the weapons frequently used in controversies involving labor and management. It is a legal weapon, furnished by the state, to fit best the hand of management in such disputes—a weapon that can place the police power of the state on management's side at the bargaining table. From that long, earlier period when effective union activities were considered a conspiracy against the welfare of the public, the injunction has survived. Historically, government has seldom viewed with enthusiasm the rise of organized labor; instead, it has taken the position that a man's business is his own to do with largely as he pleases. Therefore, until the 1930's it has usually sided with management in labor disputes. Government has found the use of the court injunction a most convenient way to halt labor disturbances and activities. Despite the Norris-La Guardia Act of 1932 and subsequent legislation defining, and to a certain extent limiting, the use of the injunction, its use continues to restrain labor's power to assert itself in many areas of the country.

A proper treatment of this subject should include not only an adequate definition of "court injunction," but also an explanation of what the use of that instrument has meant to the weal of organized labor, and to the attitude of the general public toward workers when the forces of law and order are arrayed against them. Less than one-fourth of the History and Government and Problems books gave an adequate description of an injunction. Even fewer attempted an explanation of the implications of its use. In view of these facts, it is not surprising that a poll taken by Purdue University in 1960 found that sixty-one percent of the high school students polled thought that an injunction was a union weapon employed against business.[14]

One of the best descriptions of use of the injunction is found in Bragdon and McCutchen's *History of a Free People*. In discussing the Pullman strike of 1894, they say on page 430:

> . . . even before the troops appeared, the federal government also took judicial action. On application of the Attorney General of the United States, a judge of the Chicago District Court issued an injunction (court order) forbidding interference with transportation in interstate commerce and any attempt to persuade railway workers to stay away from work. The judge justified his action on the ground that the strike was a conspiracy in restraint of trade and therefore a violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. On refusing to obey, Debs was jailed for contempt of court. Deprived of his leadership the Pullman strike collapsed and with it the American Railway Union. From this time on, labor unions demanded that the use of the injunction in labor disputes be abolished. Even outside labor circles there was strong feeling that the injunction putting Debs in jail was an unfair use of judicial power.

Further along in the same book, in discussing the use of the injunction during the 1920's, the authors say on page 567:

> Thus Attorney General Daugherty helped to break railroad and coal strikes

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[14] *Youth's Attitudes Toward Industrial Relations*, Purdue University Opinion Poll 59, Purdue University, Division of Educational Reference (Lafayette, Indiana, June 1960), p. 3.

> in 1922 by obtaining injunctions which prohibited every conceivable union activity, including picketing, making public statements to the press, and jeering at strikebreakers. During the 1920's a series of Supreme Court decisions whittled away the protections which unions had secured by the Clayton Act of 1914. Injunctions were again freely used to stop strikes and boycotts, and unions were punished under the Sherman Antitrust Act for 'conspiracies in restraint of trade.'

Three or four of the books in both groups had adequate descriptive accounts of the injunction, but not one gave an adequate explanation of its use and significance.

The Definition of Terms

Concerning items 4 through 9, we looked for clear, sharp definitions of the terms "arbitration," "mediation and conciliation," "open shop," "closed shop," "union shop," and "company unions."[15]

These terms are frequently and commonly used in the daily press, and many accounts of labor disputes are incomprehensible without some understanding of these examples from the language of labor-management relations.

In the U.S. History texts, only three authors adequately defined arbitration, and none did so for mediation and conciliation. This can only mean that the student, if his store of information is to come from his history book, will be unable to distinguish between a mediator—who attempts to find common ground between disputants but who does not, and cannot, impose his will, and an arbitrator—who is, in fact, a judge who hands down a decision and orders it carried out. For example, a government mediator, on April 28, 1965, was able to assist the United Steelworkers Union and the steel industry to extend their contract for four months, thereby allowing more time for negotiations. He, of course, did not, and could not, determine which side of the dispute was right. The two sides had to arrive at their future contract in the arena of collective bargaining.

On the other hand, in 1963, the 88th Congress played a quite different role when it entered into a dispute between a group of major railroads and operating railroad unions and compelled a decision through compulsory arbitration, ordered by special legislation.

At the root of the matter is the confusion among the general public, and undoubtedly among the students, who seem to want the government to assume some responsibility during labor-management conflicts, but who are unable to know what that responsibility should be. The gulf of difference between arbitration and mediation–conciliation remains obscured in their minds. The meanings of the other terms in this survey were also blurred in the History texts.

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[15] For standard and concise definitions of these terms, see Paul Hubert Casselman, *Labor Dictionary* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1949).

In the U.S. Government and American Problems texts, our findings show that the explanation of these terms, although still poor, is better than in the History texts. For instance, six books define or explain arbitration adequately, and three do the same for mediation and conciliation. At the most, only four of the fifteen books in this group could be considered as giving an adequate description of all the terms surveyed.

Comments: An understanding of what is meant by open, closed, and union shop is important for the young person about to seek employment, simply because he or she must find that their employment will fall into one of these categories. The terms of employment, the kind of labor contract, the working conditions, and the wages may well vary depending upon which of these types of workplace the young applicant finds. The student should know that, although the open shop may seem mandatory in "right-to-work" states, many of the skilled trades, by controlling apprenticeship programs and the referral to jobs for their members, still insist on union membership. He or she should know that, although the closed shop may be forbidden by law (Taft-Hartley Act), compulsory membership *after* employment may still be demanded by unions in most states where labor and management have negotiated contracts to require this.

Without loading the issue one way or another, students should be informed of what "dues check-off" means to a union, or why "open shop" is anathema to union men, of why many employers themselves support the union shop as a means of stabilizing their labor market, of why individual participation in union government is essential to democratic trade unionism. They should know why the case for the open shop seems so appealing to those who hold to the virtue of individualism, and why unions counter this appeal with the concept of "industrial democracy" to defend the union shop. These and other concepts are soon going to be part of the day-to-day life of many young people now in high school.

In short, precise language, much could be done by textbook authors to present an understanding of these terms and of what they imply. Little is now available in these books to help the students avoid misunderstanding them.

Industrial vs. Craft Unions

Item 10 concerns the industrial vs. the craft approach to unionism. The debate over whether union organization should be on craft or industrial lines, or even on the "one big union" plan of such organizations as the Industrial Workers of the World, has divided the organizers of American labor repeatedly for a hundred years. Indeed, even today this disagreement may be basically the cause for some of the jurisdictional disputes and political alignments that take place in contemporary labor. But today this is a wavering line. One can belong to an industrial union that attempts to organize every man working in an industry regardless of what he does, or to a union composed only of the workers in a single craft, and still find a home in the combined AFL-CIO.

Interestingly, on this point which may be of less importance to contemporary study, the textbooks' treatment seemed superior to their handling of those issues more marked by immediate controversy. This suggests that the books' authors are more comfortable when dealing with matters for which history has blunted the edge of controversy.

Section 7(a) of the NIRA and the NLRA—The Right of Self-Organization

In searching the textbooks on the subjects of Section 7 (a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act and the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act, items 11 and 12, I had in mind the importance of the historical context in which these profoundly precedent-making acts, which encouraged collective bargaining, came about. For instance, it seems inconceivable that an author should simply state that in 1883 Congress enacted the Pendleton Civil Service Act without pointing out that the "spoils system" had been a part of political life so long that the very words had become popular parlance, that abuses had existed for three-quarters of a century in government employment, that a President of the United States had just been assassinated by a disappointed spoilsman, and that the Civil Service Act was a public policy reaction to these disturbing events. Only in this context does the Act have meaning to the student living in the comfort of present-day recognized merit rating in public employment.

These labor acts must also be described in relation to more than a century of organized management's intense opposition to organized labor. As late as 1917, the Supreme Court was still upholding the enforceability of "yellow-dog" contracts, still standing as a firm ally of management against the ambitions of labor. "Blacklisting," company unions, labor spies, use of Pinkerton and Baldwin-Felts private detectives and strikebreakers, or even the use of public law enforcement officers and National Guardsmen, were still hampering the organization of workingmen until the passage of the N.R.A. legislation. The student should know that these laws were passed to correct practices widely offensive to the civil rights of employees. The government was insuring, under law, the right of employees to bargain collectively with their employers, and to select their bargaining representatives without interference from the employer. Bragdon and McCutchen, in *History of a Free People* (p. 602), put it thusly:

> Once the New Deal was launched, labor's right to organize received even more protection. Section 7(a) of the *National Recovery Act* provided that every N.R.A. code should guarantee the worker's right of collective bargaining and forbid employers to interfere with the formation of labor unions. Section 7(a) encouraged a rapid revival of unionism. Between May and October, 1933, the American Federation of Labor gained 1,500,000 new members.

This treatment implies that Congressmen were not only yielding to the pleading of workers; they were looking with a broader vision to the United States itself, and they saw that the existing labor-management anarchy was in fact detrimental to the whole nation. Title I, Section 1, of the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act states with precision the reasons for the passage of that law:

> The inequality of bargaining power between employees who do not possess full freedom of association or actual liberty of contract, and employers who are organized in the corporate or other forms of ownership association substantially burdens and affects the flow of commerce, and tends to aggravate recurrent business depressions, by depressing wage rates and the purchasing power of wage earners in industry and by preventing the stabilization of competitive wage rates and working conditions within and between industries.

The Wagner Act, specifically, is much better treated, with approximately half of all books giving it adequate description or explanation, but almost without exception failing to mention that Section 7 (a) of the defunct National Industrial Recovery Act formed the basis for it and was, in fact, lifted almost intact into the Wagner Act.

Some of the American Problems textbooks are quite thorough on the National Labor Relations Act. For example, Blaich and Baumgartner, in *The Challenge of Democracy* (p. 291), even go into the very important area of the union contract under the law.

> The Wagner Act also created the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). At the request of the workers in a plant or an industry, the NLRB will conduct an election by secret ballot in which workers choose the union they want to represent them. The union that wins the election is certified by the NLRB as the legal representative of the workers in that plant or industry. Then the officials of the certified union draw up a contract with management. Although labor-management contracts differ, they all contain certain principles, such as: (1) management agrees to recognize the certified union as the sole collective bargaining agent for the workers; (2) workers are classified into groups, depending on their tasks, with a wage scale for each group; (3) provision is made for holidays and vacations with pay; (4) a higher rate of pay is agreed upon for overtime and work on Sundays and holidays; (5) seniority rights are established; that is, length of service is the basis for granting certain privileges to workers. Employees who have worked for a company for a long time are given preference

over newer employees with regard to promotions, transfers, vacation choice, and other matters; (6) management retains the right to hire, to transfer, and to discharge employees who break rules established in the contract.

A majority in both groups of textbooks did not give an adequate treatment of the subject.

The Fair Labor Standards Act

Item 13, the Fair Labor Standards Act, is probably the most adequately described of any of the topics on the check list. Perhaps this is because the Act is less controversial today than other issues pertaining to labor, or because it has application to the labor force without the necessity of a union being involved; or, perhaps because the Act is easier to explain. President Roosevelt described it as placing a "floor below which wages shall not fall and a ceiling beyond which the hours of industrial labor shall not rise." Most students, undoubtedly, have heard the phrases "time and a half" or "overtime," and certainly the law-defined forty-hour workweek has become almost Holy Writ. However, even here, the description or analysis of the Fair Labor Standards Act in the textbook seldom makes clear that not all jobs are covered by the minimum wage law, that, in fact, millions are untouched by its provisions. The restriction of child labor is usually given adequate space. Some authors see fit to warn of the possible implications of the Fair Labor Standards Act in case of economic depression. Rienow, in *American Government in Today's World,* says on page 482:

> The real test of the wage and hour law will come in a period of declining prices. The wage structure, frozen in law and in collective agreements, may be too rigid to permit adjustments downward as the economy demands. A business setback may snowball into a calamitous depression because business and industry, unable to shave its labor costs, has no choice but to close its doors. Minimum wages are designed for humanitarian reasons to prevent the exploitation of the weak. When they are set to exceed the producing power of the least efficient workers, the minimum wage law causes those workers to be laid off entirely. It is necessary to keep the rate elastic.

We found that, all in all, ten of the U.S. Government and American Problems texts and seven of the U.S. History texts give adequate coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The Labor-Management Relations (Taft-Hartley) Act

The Labor-Management Relations (Taft-Hartley) Act represents a shift in posture of the federal government, in many instances, away from being an active partisan of collective bargaining—a partisan who often searched for management abuses—towards the role of a nonparticipant referee. This role now seems to be permanent. The government will probably never again be the open champion of management that it was when Alexander Hamilton's "rich and wellborn" sat on both sides of the government-business management table. Nor will it ever again be the patron of labor that it was during the honeymoon period of the post-Wagner Act New Deal. Under the protection of the Wagner Act, labor matured. By the end of World War II, Republican congressional leaders felt that its size and strength seemed sufficient to stand labor on its own feet in its relations with corporate enterprise. Government then moved toward the fulcrum of the labor-management seesaw.

Against this background, we analyzed the textbooks' handling of the Taft-Hartley Act. Again, one of the best, Bragdon and McCutchen's *History of a Free People,* with an apparent effort toward objectivity, states on page 657:

> An immediate result of this swing toward conservatism was the Taft-Hartley Act, passed over President Truman's veto in June, 1947. This complicated measure, which may be regarded as in effect a series of amendments to the Wagner Act . . . , attempted to restrain the power of labor unions and to prevent labor abuses. Among practices it forbade were closed-shop contracts (which forced employers to hire only union members); jurisdictional strikes (designed to force an employer to recognize one union instead of another); 'featherbedding' (pay for services not rendered); and high initiation fees. Union officers were required to take oaths they were not members of the Communist Party. The use of union funds in political campaigns was forbidden. If a strike threatened to tie up the national economy, the President could get a court injunction to enforce an eighty-day 'cooling off' period. The Taft-Hartley Act was one of the most controversial measures ever passed by Congress. Labor spokesmen denounced it as a 'slave labor law,' erasing all gains the unions had made since 1933. They resented the non-Communist oath as an affront to their loyalty, especially since prominent labor leaders, including John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, and Walter Reuther, had fought to drive Communists out of the labor movement. Defenders of the law argued that it merely restrained irresponsible labor unions the way the Wagner Act restrained anti-labor activities of employers.

The Landrum-Griffin Act

Item 15, the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure (Landrum-Griffin) Act, passed in 1959, did not appear at all in several of the textbooks since their publishing dates preceded the passage of the Act. However, even in most textbooks published after 1959, the Act received scant attention. The authors usually contented themselves with the McClellan Committee's investigations of 1958, where, to quote Harlow and Noyes in *Story of America* (p. 760),

> The testimony of the parade of witnesses who went before the committee added up to a sorry picture of labor leaders, some of them with criminal records, who misused union funds, sold out their unions to employers, and often used gangster methods to stay in power.

We found that about one-fourth of the texts surveyed gave adequate descriptions of the Landrum-Griffin Act.

Comments: However, adequate treatment should perhaps include a suggestion of the meaning of this legislation. Nowhere, for example, does one find that explicitly as a result of the Landrum-Griffin Act, any citizen can for a few cents avail himself of the financial records of any union. Nowhere does any of the textbook authors analyze the bill sufficiently to show that for all practical purposes it makes unions publicly accountable, that their democratic procedures and financial transactions are specially subject to unique public surveillance—not only by the courts, but by an administrative officer, namely the Secretary of Labor.

Unfair Practices

Items 16 and 17 refer to unfair practices of both labor and management. Admittedly, the history of labor-management relations in the United States has seen a good deal of what might be called, ethically, unfair practices. However, there is no need here to discuss what "unfair" means in these relations. Unfair practices are spelled out specifically, and are forbidden in industries affecting interstate commerce, by the Labor-Management Relations (Taft-Hartley) Act of 1947, as amended by the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure (Landrum-Griffin) Act of 1959.

Unfair practices of management include any attempt to "interfere with, restrain, or coerce employees in the exercise of the rights [to organize and to bargain collectively with their employer on their wages, hours, and working conditions]; . . . to dominate or interfere with the formation or administration of any labor organization or contribute financial or other support to it; . . . by discrimination in regard to hire or tenure of employment or any term or condition of employment to encourage or discourage membership in any labor organization; . . . to discharge or otherwise discriminate against an employee because he has filed charges or given testimony under this Act; . . . [or] to refuse to bargain collectively. . . ."

Unfair practices of labor are any that involve the restraint or coercion of employees in the exercise of their rights under the Act. They also include "featherbedding," the refusal to bargain, charging excessive dues under union shop contracts, and secondary boycotts. All these practices are forbidden as unfair in Section 8 of the Labor-Management Relations Act.

By such legislation, the government has indicated strongly that it is, whether or not labor or management likes it, quite concerned with labor-management relations and behavior in the interest of the public.

Beyond this consideration, however, the description of these rights and unfair labor practices has considerable importance for persons who are to work as employees. They define some basic rights that have been built into the law to ensure that employees have the option of selecting an agent, if they wish, to represent them in bargaining with their employer on the conditions of their employment. These provisions are the foundation of our system of industrial jurisprudence. The public schools should make this essential information available to students who are about to become employees in such large numbers. Only three of the total of thirty-three texts adequately explained these basic rights.

Right-to-Work Laws

Item 18 concerns specifically Section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. I was most interested in whether or not the textbooks would point out that this section of the law, with most unusual latitude, allows state governments to preempt federal legislation in labor-management relations by enacting so-called "right-to-work" laws, making illegal the otherwise lawful union shop. Nineteen states now have such legislation outlawing the union shop and other union-security contract clauses.

Brown and Peltier, in *Government in Our Republic* (p. 559), in a short treatment, do perhaps the best job:

> In recent years some states have passed and others have rejected laws aimed directly at the power of unions. These laws, known as 'right to work' laws (that is, the right to work without belonging to a union), would make the union shop impossible unless the union's members were unanimous in their support of it. The federal law, on the other hand, authorizes the union shop if a majority favors it. Such laws are constantly being tested in the courts to determine whether they conform with the Constitution. There is no uniform attitude toward labor among the states, and the states by no means all conform to the standards set by the federal government.

Twenty of the thirty-three textbooks avoided any mention of this controversial subject; for the students who read those texts, it does not exist.

Comments: Should not textbooks attempt to explain what such laws mean to the partisans of labor and management, and why labor unions are so universally opposed to these so-called right-to-work laws? It is well within the memory of most teachers in the classrooms today that a right-to-work proposal became a most important political issue in California in 1958, contributing largely to the defeat of Senator William Knowland in his candidacy for the governorship of this state. President Johnson in his "State of the Union" address called for the repeal of Section 14 (b); and, as this study is being prepared, the 89th Congress has refused to repeal this particular provision of the Taft-Hartley Act after a successful filibuster in the Senate.

Strikes by Public Employees

For item 19, concerning the right of public employees to strike, textbooks were examined for their treatment of, for example, the Boston Police Strike of 1919. Most texts in History, and Government and Problems did not concern themselves with the Boston Police Strike at all; and if they did, it was to emphasize Governor Coolidge's statement, and not the strike itself. Coolidge sent a telegram to Samuel Gompers of the A.F. of L., in which he said: "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anyone, anywhere, anytime."

For example, Todd and Curti, in *Rise of the American Nation* (p. 644), say that rioting and looting broke out when the police walked out, and that "Coolidge's statement was widely applauded all over the country. It brought him to public attention and helped him to win the Vice-Presidential nomination on the Republican ticket in 1920." Rienow, in *American Government in Today's World* (p. 292), says, "Civil servants may organize but they may not strike. We do not accept the idea that the activities of government could be stopped by a union." Twenty-one of the textbooks barely mentioned this issue, or did not discuss it at all.

Comments: That almost two-thirds of the texts did not take up this issue at all may be preferable to their giving it only cursory treatment, which would impart to the students the mistaken notion that public employees have no right, moral or legal, to strike. A student so taught would have difficulty to understand how twenty-five thousand New York City teachers did go on strike, and how social-welfare workers, all of them public employees, did withdraw their services through strike activities. It would also confuse the student if he would ever realize that the sovereign power of another great parliamentary system, that of England, is not challenged by according civil servants the legal right to strike.

Collective Bargaining

Item 20 concerns the processes of modern collective bargaining. In searching for this item, we felt that collective bargaining should be given sufficient space of description and analysis to contrast it with the more violent character of past American labor-management relations. After all, collective bargaining is the accepted policy of the United States by law. Section 1 of the Taft-Hartley Act states categorically:

> It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to eliminate the causes of certain substantial obstructions to the free flow of commerce and to

mitigate and eliminate these obstructions when they have occurred by encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and by protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing, for the purpose of negotiating the terms and conditions of their employment or other mutual aid or protection.

McClenaghan, in *Magruder's American Government* (pp. 674–75), although certainly not exhaustive, is perhaps adequate in describing collective bargaining in this way:

> Collective bargaining: This is the cornerstone from which the American system of labor-management relations is laid. It is the negotiating between the employer and his organized employees (as a group rather than individually) to determine the terms of a labor contract. It takes place when representatives of management and labor sit down to work out an agreement which sets forth the wages, hours, and other conditions under which workers are to be employed. Collective bargaining is a two-way street. Management makes its proposals for a contract to govern employment. Labor makes its proposals, too. The two sides then bargain (discuss and compromise) with one another in order to reach an agreement satisfactory to each side.

Over three-fourths of the History textbooks analyzed are silent on the procedures and practices of collective bargaining, and well over half of the Government and Problems texts are inadequate in their handling of the subject.

Comments: Should not the texts recognize this as one of the basic achievements of trade unionism? Surely the textbooks could be expected to indicate that peaceful collective bargaining is the *usual* procedure in labor-management relations, that of the tens of thousands of contracts which are negotiated, sometimes annually, very few are achieved at the expense of rupture and strike. However, the emphasis on the violent strike, complete with loaded words like "hoodlums," "thugs," and "indolent loafers," seems to be considered much more dramatic by some textbook writers.

Automation

In the early days of the industrial revolution, Belgian workers threw their wooden shoes (sabots) into newly installed machines and created the word "sabotage." Today, workingmen still fear the prospect of machines replacing men in productive and wage-earning work. Jack Rogers, in *Automation: Technology's New Face,* published by the Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, says, "Alarmist articles warning of sweeping technological unemployment have been answered by debunking articles with the theme that automation will create new employment opportunities. What automation will do to or for jobs, workers, unions, companies, industries, and consumers has been foretold with an abundance of disagreement."[16]

Whether either extreme position is precisely accurate is irrelevant for the purposes of this study. But, young people in high school, who will be on the employment or unemployment lines very shortly, have a need and a right to know that the jobs they have planned for, the kind of jobs that their fathers now have, may not be waiting for them when they graduate; that they, in fact, may have to prepare for two, three, four, or more trades or occupations in a single productive lifetime. Again, surprisingly, Government and Problems textbooks are weaker on this subject than the History texts. Only ten of the History texts, and eleven of the Government and Problems texts, are either silent or give the stingiest mention of automation. In those textbooks that do mention the subject, there is a simplicity which may be misleading. Some give only the production possibilities of automation, with no reference to what this might do to employment. Ver Steeg, in *The American People* (p. 633), devotes two paragraphs to automation, but only to the industrial benefits—nothing to the effect on labor. Rienow, in his introduction to *American Government in Today's World,* praises American production and says on page 2: "A worker has 100 times more mechanical energy at his fingertips than had the worker a century ago. Shortly 96 percent of the work done in the United States will be that of mechanical slaves." This statement is footnoted: "Factories without humans on the assembly lines are the goal of some serious students of technology. Already electronics are moving in that direction."

Muzzey and Link, in *Our American Republic* (p. 666), discuss automation briefly and say:

> Some workers feared that machines operating machines which operated still other machines in a seemingly endless chain would result in great unemployment. But others were quick to see that manufacture of the new machines, (such as computers) and their use in the new industries opened up untold new opportunities for labor, even though it might cause temporary unemployment. The principal change was a steady increase in labor's skill and productivity, or output per man per hour, in various branches of industry.

Eibling, King and Harlow, in *Our United States, A Bulwark of Freedom* (p. 610), bluntly and unqualifiedly say that "the increased use of machines results in more jobs, not fewer." Only five of the texts described or explained this subject adequately.

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[16] In an interview, Richard Snodey, Business Systems specialist and author of the bibliography *Information Storage and Retrieval, A Survey* (Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers, March 1964), said: "Nobody is such a sucker for salesmanship as another salesman. Businesses have purchased fantastically expensive electronic equipment, have automated their offices when they had not the slightest economic reason for doing so. The machines stand idle most of the time because they simply do not have sufficient work for them to do. Automation is the most oversold word in American business."

Comments: Businessmen, labor leaders, public officials, and academic men now recognize that automation, even if the most optimistic predictions come true, suggests problems of enormous consequences. The Sunday supplements and popular magazines have made it the subject of public debate. Some scholars have suggested that it necessitates serious rethinking of widely-accepted economic principles. The student's textbook, which treats a subject of such far-reaching implications in a superficial or naive way, does a serious disservice to that student.

Perhaps a model for textbook treatment of this important subject might be found in the Resource Unit entitled "The Labor Movement in the United States," prepared by the Department of Public Instruction of Pennsylvania in 1963. Pages 56 and 57 state on this subject:

> Automation is a potentially profound technological change with broad implications for both productivity and employment. However, there is no agreement about a definition of automation. Some experts claim that it is only the extension of mechanization; that is, increased production by the replacement of physical labor by machines. At the same time, other experts claim that automation is a second industrial revolution because it is not merely more mechanization but the replacement of human control by machines. ... The most pressing concern to labor is, will automation create or displace jobs? The evidence is incomplete.... The long-term increase of employment in the service industries may offer new openings for displaced workers, especially if automation, by increasing productivity, brings rising incomes and greater leisure to manufacturing workers. The theory is that as improved technology increases productivity, which in turn increases the real income of workers (who are also consumers) through higher wages or lower prices for goods, the demand for services and goods increases with the increased productivity. . . Because demand has increased for services, employment in the service industries has increased rapidly. This is an example of labor shifting from one product to another product or service because of demand and improved technology. Other experts, especially labor leaders, are equally concerned with the adverse effects of automation on employment, especially in the next five to ten years. If during this time automation increases rapidly, it is feared that there will be a surplus of job seekers, especially for the new entrants on the labor market. It is also feared that unless markets continue to grow because purchasing power is growing, there will not be enough jobs; nor will the needed opportunities appear at the right time, or places.... New types of jobs will be created which in many instances, will demand more or a different kind of skill. Who will get these new jobs? Will there be enough jobs to employ all the workers? Will the old workers be considered too old to retrain? How and who will retrain the workers? What will happen to the worker who is discharged or must accept a downgraded job in another part of the factory?

Social-Economic Welfare Legislation

Items 22 through 31, concerning the Social Security Act generally, as well as its components, are included in our check list because, quite likely, the high school senior will shortly be having deductions made from his paycheck to support his retirement benefits and a wide range of specialized programs for the disabled, the blind, and dependent children, among others. Generally, the treatment of Social Security legislation, its financing, organization, major benefits, old-age insurance, survivors' insurance, and disability insurance is well-handled. Most textbooks include charts or graphs, some in cartoon technique, which are probably effective for teaching so complex a subject to high school students.

One criticism applies to only a small number of the textbooks in question: there still exists a detectable bias on the part of some authors that social-economic welfare legislation, and the government's role of its administration, is not in keeping with classical concepts of America, namely individualism and self-reliance. There is an implication found in some books that any welfare legislation is tantamount to charity and handout. Rienow certainly insinuates this point in Chapter 27 of his text *American Government in Today's World,* by beginning a paragraph in this manner:

> We have long had the poor, the handicapped, and the victims of unhappy chance. But we have not been without charity, mercy, and good will. It is only recently, however, that we have come to appoint the government as the agent of our collective conscience. There are still those who decry this new emphasis on the 'welfare state.'

Clark and Aitchison, in *Civics for Americans* (p. 370), say:

> Self-reliance has always been the American way of providing for one's own security. To stand on one's own feet is still the best way. It means putting our initiative and imagination to work in solving our personal problems.

The teacher's manual accompanying this book makes this point: "To avoid confusion of security with 'handouts' and 'charity,' emphasize to students the true security of self-reliance and resourcefulness."

Rienow, in his treatment of old-age assistance, says on page 493: "We held, too, the idea that each man ought to provide for his own old age out of the thrift of his working years. We still cling to that idea, as well we should."

In Hall and Klinger's *Problem Solving in Our American Democracy* (p. 206), there is the suggestion that the retirement age be advanced. The authors go on to use as reference a *Business Week* article, that sixty percent of old people prefer to work, with no explanation that they *may* prefer to work because the benefits that they can receive under existing legislation are too low to sustain a comfortable life.

Rienow, in his treatment of the employment service offices, a treatment which is rather confusing and inadequate, goes on to suggest an apparently widely held but debatable point (p. 485):

> Closely linked with the employment offices is the Unemployment Insurance Service. Allowances to unemployed workers are based on their readiness and willingness to take suitable jobs offered them through the government employment offices. Even so, the state and federal governments have great difficulty in weeding out chiselers.

There is also a notable lack in almost all of the textbooks studied of any comparison of American economic security legislation with that of other countries which have similar democratic institutions and traditions, such as Canada, New Zealand, Great Britain, or the Scandinavian countries. The student is left with the impression that such legislation is an American invention. In most books no mention is made that, in fact, the United States has been at least a generation behind other nations which have similar institutions in the enactment of such economic protection.

This lack of comparison seems particularly pertinent in view of what, apparently, is a widespread ignorance on the part of American high school students (and, undoubtedly, of their elders) of the economic security plans of other countries, specifically, of medical insurance. In view of the traditionally intense hostility of the American Medical Association, and, indeed, of most of the popular press, to any kind of a national health insurance plan, I believe it incumbent on textbook authors, who purport to offer objectivity, to clarify for students that the shibboleth of "socialized medicine" does not necessarily mean that a plan is evil. Perhaps students should be made aware, through their textbooks, that citizens of other democratic countries, for example Norway, are well satisfied with their national health insurance plans, and are even engaged in expanding them.

An exception to the sparse treatment given the problem of health in the United States is found in Hall and Klinger's *Problem Solving in Our American Democracy*. In Chapter 12, page 240, the authors point out:

> Our doctors, hospitals, and clinics are excellent but they are expensive. They must be paid for either from a person's income, by medical insurance, or by some other means. More than 75,000,000 people in our country have no medical insurance, and many of these do not have the income to provide complete medical care. Therefore, about half of our population has a real problem when serious illness strikes, and many others do not have full insurance coverage.

The authors discuss the cost of medical care, and the fact that the heaviest burden falls on the middle-income family, those without riches or public health facilities (p. 243):

> Only about half of the nation is covered by some form of this insurance, and in a recent year insurance paid for less than 25 percent of all medical care bills.... The costs of the insurance are above the means of low-income groups....

They also analyze the report and recommendations of the Truman Commission, as well as the plan of the Eisenhower administration, and briefly mention plans in other countries, specifically in Great Britain. On page 254, we read:

> We are not certain how we shall make medical care available to all, but we do know that our government increasingly recognizes the importance of health. The two governmental plans also indicate that our government recognizes that it must bear full responsibility for our nation's health.

Workmen's Compensation and State Disability Insurance

The treatment of Workmen's Compensation in the textbooks varies even more drastically than that of most other subjects. Two of the American Problems books, Blaich and Baumgartner's *The Challenge of Democracy,* and Hall and Klinger's *Problem Solving in Our American Democracy,* give adequate accounts (i.e., a full page (p. 145) by Blaich and Baumgartner). These authors even break down the three general benefits of Workmen's Compensation—medical, disability, and death—and point out that "25 to 40 percent of the nation's workers are not covered by workmen's compensation laws."

The U.S. Government textbooks are surprisingly weak on this subject. Brown and Peltier, in *Government in Our Republic* (pp. 559–60), say only:

> State governments also require employers operating within the state to carry insurance against injury or disability of their employees. Payments made to workers during periods of unemployment caused by injury are known as workman's compensation.

Magruder's American Government (p. 402) concerns itself only with federal law administered by the Bureau of Employees' Compensation.

Among the U.S. History texts, Bragdon and McCutchen's *History of a Free People* is, as for so many other parts of this study, easily the best. These authors describe not only the historical background of America, but add the influence of foreign governments (p. 495): "During the late nineteenth century, countries as far removed as Germany and New

Zealand had introduced workmen's compensation, also called employer's liability." They also point out:

> Such legislation not only helped workers after they had been injured, but also reduced industrial hazards. Since employers paid lower insurance premiums if they lowered their accident rate, it was to their self-interest to introduce safety devices and train their laborers to be more careful.

Brown, Helgeson and Lobdell, in *The United States of America* (p. 424), place their brief, but clear, account of the subject under their discussion of the Progressive Period. Muzzey and Link, in *Our Country's History* (pp. 440–41), say only, "Workmen's compensation acts recognized the responsibility of employers for injury to workers due to defective machinery or dangerous jobs." Todd and Curti, in *Rise of the American Nation* (p. 577), suffice with, "New York in 1910 broke new ground in passing the first important state law to compensate workers for accidents that took place on the job."

The California State Disability Insurance is not mentioned in any of the U.S. History texts; it is mentioned, under short general discussion, in four of the U.S. Government and American Problems books.

Individual and Corporate Income Taxes

The inclusion of items 34 and 35 in the list, concerning individual and corporate income taxes, reveals an assumption on my part that the student's attitude toward economic protection, public services, and, in general, the government's role in the economy of the nation, is associated with his attitude toward taxation by which public programs must be financed.

An extreme example of anti-tax conditioning is found in Hall and Klinger's *Problem Solving in Our American Democracy*. The authors begin their problem situation with a homely little anecdote (p. 170):

> John Jones and his wife Mary live in the small town of Freedom. They have one son, Joe, who is a senior at Freedom High School. The Joneses are an average American family. They have an income of $4500 a year and own their own home. Over the past five years John has been increasingly annoyed by his tax increases. For the privilege of owning his home he pays property tax. The federal income tax and various state taxes take most of his income. He pays indirect taxes on goods that he purchases. John's taxes have become burdensome, if not unbearable, to him. 'Mary,' said John to his wife one day, 'something must be done about taxes! It seems that the politicians squander the citizens' money without regard for their welfare. It is almost impossible for us to save any money for Joe's education.' 'Why don't you join the Taxpayers Association?' Mary asked. 'They are interested in our problem and perhaps they may be able to throw some light on the tax situation. Don't they

> put pressure on public officials for economy in government?' 'Perhaps you are right,' said John.[17]

The textbooks say far too little about taxes, thereby leaving assumptions in the reader's mind which are less than true. Most of the textbooks, in discussing the rates of progressive taxation, make unqualified statements, particularly about the upper tax rates. Hall and Klinger (p. 178) go on:

> If the taxpayer earns over $200,000 in a given year, he must pay a federal income tax of over $156,000, plus 91 percent of the excess over $200,000. If Mr. Jones earned one million dollars last year his federal income tax this year would, according to present rates, amount to $884,820.

The authors continue to say that this means "take home pay" and that Mr. Jones would have certain deductions for "organized charity, interest he paid, and many other things which decrease his tax by thousands of dollars," but these things are not sufficiently specified.

Brown and Peltier, in *Government in Our Republic,* twice on page 491, state that the rates rise to eighty-seven percent on high incomes. Blaich and Baumgartner, in *Challenge of Democracy* say on page 403:

> The Federal income tax schedule is based on the progressive tax principle. A taxpayer, for instance, must pay 20 percent on the first $2,000 or less of his taxable income. These rates continue to rise gradually with increased income. Finally, they reach a maximum of 91 percent on a taxable income of $200,000 or more.

Of course, the key word here is "taxable" income, but the authors are lax in describing what taxable income actually is. Rienow, in *American Government in Today's World,* also prefers the loaded vernacular (p. 304): "As the income increases, the Treasury demands a greater and greater *proportion* of the whole. When his income reaches $200,000 a year the taxpayer finds that 92 percent of every additional dollar he earns filters away to the government in tax."

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[17] I have strong suspicions that teen-agers, especially juniors and seniors in high school, are not as unsophisticated and as naive as some of the textbook authors seem to believe them to be. Surely, these young people, whose vocabulary sometimes astounds us and whose dress may appall us, can recognize when they are being written down to. Surely, they can recognize condescension when they see it, no matter from what source it may come; for example, when a writer opens his section of a labor-management dispute with, "The atmosphere in Factoryville is tense," and goes on to describe the situation that develops in a high-school class with, "Here, for example, is Larry. His father is general manager of the company. Larry is one of the most popular fellows in the senior class. He is president of the student council, editor of the paper, and chairman of the prom-committee. But in recent weeks some of Larry's closest friends have been avoiding him. In particular, Larry's friend Mike, the star halfback on the football team. It so happens that Mike's father is one of the leaders of the union." Quoted from Hall and Klinger, *Problem Solving in Our American Democracy* (Lancaster, Texas: American Book Co., 1961, p. 300). The danger that an author risks in trying to write in the vernacular of the high school student is clear. He does not know that vernacular, and it changes with great rapidity. It is frequently designed as an in-group language; if the author attempts to communicate with the high school student in his own language, what he really succeeds in doing is communicating in what the author thinks the student's language should be, not what it actually is, and he sounds the more square for having tried it.

Muzzey and Link, in *Our Country's History* (p. 456), say "Once in force taxes tend to increase. In 1963 net taxable income over $1200 was taxed at 20% and the maximum was 91% over $400,000 for a married couple." In the same authors' book, *Our American Republic* (p. 407), there is a description of the wealth accumulated by the very rich in the late nineteenth century. The authors ask, in red print, the question: "How much of these incomes would taxes take today?" The answer, according to recent studies of the actual taxes that the very rich pay today, would be—almost none. Stewart Alsop wrote in "The Great Tax Myth," *Saturday Evening Post,* November 23, 1963, "No one in the country pays 91 percent on real income." According to Mr. Alsop, the typical man with a million dollars a year income, "pays $261,929—or about 26 percent—on his adjusted gross income of a million dollars."

> ...no rich man in his senses takes the bulk of his income in taxable form. He uses all sorts of techniques to keep his money out of the Treasury's grasping hands—capital gains, depletion allowances for oil or other resources, real estate deals, charity, tax free bonds and so on.... The widespread notion that this country's tax system is steeply progressive, and in the top bracket confiscatory, is a myth.

Philip Stern, in *The Great Treasury Raid,* Random House, 1964, documents the same point in much more detail.

Comments: The student should be made to understand that the tax structure is extraordinarily complex, and that it is not made up of simple generalizations such as he finds in his textbooks. The books should explain adequately and fairly that if the United States and its citizenry continue to expect and demand increased public services, increased economic security, and increased power and prestige in the world, someone must pay the bill; that one way of paying the bill has been, and will remain, the progressive corporate and personal income taxes, taxes whose rates are based on the general principle of "ability to pay" rather than the fixed rates of excise or sales taxes.

B: Informal Analysis

We are dealing here with textbooks, books which are works of prose—not statistical tables or diagrams. These books are necessarily encyclopedic rather than specialized in content. The authors are trying to cover a vast number of subjects, and superficiality is probably unavoidable. They must make the sentence, or at best the paragraph, suffice to inform the student of the matter at hand. They must also be selective from a well-nigh infinite number of events and subjects which make up the history or the governmental processes of a nation. All this is admitted. But it is just this use of selective generalizations—rather than the precision of facts and figures—which makes the textbooks so frustrating to the specialist, and to this researcher. The use of the check list and the attempt to measure the adequacy of handling the selected topics do not tell the whole story. They reveal that which the authors selected and wrote; they do not reveal that which is inferred by the selection or by the omission. This section is devoted to some examples of this collective inference.

Government and the Economy

One example of this collective inference on the part of textbook authors is the connection implied between government spending and the economy. Whether or not one approves of the government not only regulating the economy but actually contributing to it, is not a matter for consideration here. The matter for consideration is that it is an accomplished fact. The budget of the United States government, at this writing, stands at just under one hundred billion dollars. This money will be pumped into the economy (albeit largely in the form of private contracts for defense), and particularly into areas like Southern California. It would seem that the students should have a knowledge of what part this government spending plays in their own economic lives. They should certainly have more than, for example, Rienow's highly colorful and imaginative description of government action in the 1930's (p. 491): "It [Congress] thrust its hand into the grab bag of solutions and came forth with a handful of 'public works projects' to give income to the hungry and 'prime the pump' of the national economy."

The fact that the government's role is a costly one should not be ignored, and yet deficit spending is as acceptable to one economist as it is unacceptable to another. The textbook author has a responsibility to analyze for the students these issues of government spending and government responsibility. Hall and Klinger, in *Problem Solving in Our American Democracy* (p. 175), build the case strongly in opposition to deficit spending: "The burden of public debt will be handed down to many generations to come. Perhaps they will be paying for our mistakes. Should future generations be loaded with a heavy burden of taxes to pay for things they had no part in? This is one of America's serious problems."

Regulatory agencies are given extensive treatment in most of the texts, but in very few are the government's positive actions of contributing to the economy, the subsidizing of new industries, the grants of aid, the loans, the research and development funds, the protection for private enterprise, even so much as mentioned. For example in only one text, Muzzey and Link's *Our Country's History,* is there an actual quotation of the Employment Act of 1946, a basic precedent for the "War on Poverty:"

> The Congress hereby declares that it is the continuing policy and responsibility of the Federal Government to use all practicable means consistent with its needs and obligations . . . to coordinate and utilize all its plans, functions, and resources for the purpose of creating and maintaining in a manner calculated to foster and promote free competitive enterprise and the general welfare, conditions under which there will be afforded useful employment for those willing, able, and seeking to work, and to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power.

The background of the government's present program with its already growing list of offices, bureaus, and grants-in-aid will remain forever shadowy and mysterious to the student if he is to glean his knowledge of that background from the textbook in his social studies course.

Productivity of Labor

The American worker's production has traditionally been high, and with the increasing industrialization in the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, productivity has increased at a rapid rate. Most economists seem to agree that the rising wages and standard of living of the American worker have been made possible because of this extraordinarily high labor productivity.[18] However, if there is at least one justifiable thesis that this high productivity has resulted in higher wages and a higher standard of living, it seems to have escaped most of the authors of History or Government and Problems textbooks. Most often, one finds that the accounts of rising wages for American labor are simply the result of great power and coercion brought to bear by labor unions, and that, quite naturally, management will respond by raising the prices of products and thereby forcing the consumer to pay more for the items. Seldom does one find an explanation that the rising productivity of labor may justify a raise in wages without actually increasing the cost of manufacture. A favorite phrase of textbook authors in heading the topic under discussion is "wage-price spiral," and often by implication or occasional overstatement, the impression is left that the wage demands have now reached an exorbitant level.

In Gardner's *West's Story of Our Country* (p. 556), the author says concerning the wage-price spiral: "Usually these disputes between labor and management were settled by raising both wages and prices." In Harlow and Noyes' *Story of America* (p. 755), the authors say:

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[18] "Economic Education in the Schools," *op. cit.,* p. 29. "Labor productivity is the foundation for high American wages and generally for the high American standard of living. This measure, which simply divides total output by the number of workers or by the total number of hours worked, does not imply that all this output is due to the efforts of labor, since it includes equally the efforts of management and the contributions of natural resources and man-made capital."

> Altogether during the year 1946, over four million workers took part in strikes for higher wages. Most of the strikes were successful, but then prices continued to rise so most of the union's gains were cancelled out. The result was demands for further wage increases. Manufacturers insisted they could not grant these demands without raising prices even more, so the country became caught in an inflationary wage-price spiral as higher wages contributed to still higher prices.

No further explanation.

Canfield and Wilder, in *The Making of Modern America* (p. 780), say: "The trend of prices and the cost of living continued upward. To meet higher costs organized labor demanded wage increases, and strikes frequently resulted. The net result usually was a wage increase accompanied by price increases that contributed further to the inflationary spiral." In *Our Living Government* (p. 518), Haefner, Bruce, and Carr say, "And provisions in new contracts for higher wages usually mean higher consumer prices for the particular products or services affected." Todd and Curti, in *Rise of the American Nation* (p. 775), say:

> Rising prices inevitably led to demands for higher wages. In many cases industry met the demands—but promptly raised prices still higher in an effort to recover the increased costs of production. The rise in prices, in turn, spurred labor to demand additional wage boosts. So inflation continued its upward spiral with workers blaming industry, industry blaming wage earners, and the consumer caught in the middle.

There is undeniably a connection between labor's wage demands and management's price for the product or service rendered. But without knowledge of the factor of increasing productivity, union wage demands will probably be opposed by the general public who is fearful of increased prices. Few newspaper stories of labor-management disputes ever comment on how productivity can permit wages to rise without an increase in prices. If the student's textbooks are also derelict, where is the student to get this vital information?[19]

Patriotic Instruction

When in 1827 Massachusetts was the first state to require the teaching of history in its schools, there is no doubt that the legislators assumed that that study would create a stronger feeling of patriotism among the students. That assumption is probably just as valid today. The higher ideals of the American nation, individual rights, civil liberties, equality of opportunity, are admirable, and a knowledge of these ideals and of the social and political institutions within which they may be realized must certainly make the young person proud of his heritage and eager to sustain it. One expects that textbooks in the social studies instruct in these ideals and institutions.

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[19] B. J. Widick, *Labor Today* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1964), p. 48. "The rapid rise in money wages during the 1948–1956 period made wages look like the principal mechanism of inflation. But Clague's study (Ewan Clague, Commissioner of Labor Statistics) cites two factors that modify this picture: (1) Productivity was also rising rapidly during the period; (2) this rise in productivity slowed down the increase in labor costs per unit of product so much that prices actually were rising faster than labor costs until the final year of the period."

However, there are two directions taken by many textbook authors toward this patriotic instruction which, I believe, are misguided. Both are detrimental to the efforts of organized labor and of the government in attempting to broaden the base of economic well-being.

First: The concentration in many of the textbooks on a comparison between the society of the United States and that of the communist countries, particularly of the Soviet Union—with, of course, stressing the superiority of that of the United States—has led them to overemphasize the bounty of the American system and the advantages of contemporary life in that system. These books arrive at a point far too optimistic and not sufficiently realistic concerning problems yet to be solved. One almost gets the feeling that, in fact, Utopia is at hand.

Brown and Peltier, in *Government in Our Republic* (pages 10 and 11), say:

> The typical American, however, is neither rich nor poor, except in the sense that he is extremely wealthy by comparison with the typical citizen of practically all other lands. ... most of the economic differences which do separate us are caused by the different ways in which we make our living.... Yet no profession or school is closed to an able person because he is poor and no rich person can expect any special privilege because he is wealthy.

Rienow, in *American Government in Today's World,* describes America on page 710:

> Here we are boasting the best diet in the world—eating strawberries in January. Our homes are heated automatically, mechanical devices and modern technology let us remain in a warm bed until seven. We are pampered and amused; we are overwhelmed with gadgets for our convenience.

In *Magruder's American Government,* the author discusses the predictions of Marx, one being that the workers would become poorer and poorer, and he says on page 24: "Quite the contrary has actually happened. The economic gap between workers and owners has narrowed almost to the point of extinction, especially in the United States." And Bragdon and McCutchen, in *History of a Free People* (p. 671), in discussing the economy of abundance, say: "Meanwhile income levels have risen so much at the bottom of the scale that poverty was now often limited to handicapped individuals, to social groups moving into a new environment (such as Puerto Ricans in New York), or to special areas such as towns where a mine or factory had closed down."

The most extreme example of economic naiveté regarding present-day American life is found in Muzzey and Link's books, *Our American Republic* and *Our Country's History*. Page 667 in *Our American Republic* states,

> The most significant and certainly the most startling change on the American scene since 1900 has been the virtual elimination of what used to be called the 'lower classes.' . . .
>
> Full employment and a rising level of industrial production from 1940 to 1960 went a long way toward solving the age-old problem of poverty in the United States. There were still poor Americans in the 1950's, but sociologists had to look hard to find segments of impoverished people. . . . Rising incomes for industrial workers, miners, and so on also meant the elimination of most of the outward signs of class distinctions. There were differences in the way the rich minority and the not-so-rich majority lived in the 1950's, to be sure, but they were differences only in the *degree* of comfort and material well-being. To be a factory worker in 1900 often meant to live at or below the level of subsistence. In 1960 it meant, figuratively speaking, driving a Ford instead of a Cadillac!

Brown and Peltier, in *Government in Our Republic* (p. 14), continue the theme of the bigness and greatness and richness of the United States, relative to the always unnamed 'other countries': "No people have ever been so well off."

Second: Most textbooks associate the capitalist system, in its older and perhaps purer laissez-faire definition, with the "American way," and deal severely with any proposed or accomplished changes in that system. In Muzzey and Link's *Our Country's History* (p. 705), one finds a full-page engraving, done in a most artistic way, showing a giant monument before which parade George Washington and the valiant Revolutionary Army. The monument rests upon a giant stone entitled, "Fundamental Belief in God." Above this stone is a slightly smaller one, but still part of the base, called "Constitutional Government Designed to Serve the People." On the monument itself, headed by the American eagle and entitled "Political and Economic Rights Which Protect the Dignity and Freedom of the Individual," one starts to read what is obviously the Bill of Rights—the right to free speech and press, the right to trial by jury, and so on, down the line. But suddenly one reads "the right to own private property, the right to go into business, compete, make a profit, the right to bargain for goods and services in a free market, the right to freedom from arbitrary government regulations and control," and one realizes that something has happened here to the Bill of Rights.

Posey and Huegli, *Government for Americans* (p. 151), have this commentary:

> In the United States we believe that private ownership of productive property is superior to government ownership. . . . Americans also believe that in attaining these results [i.e., production of more goods and therefore a higher standard of living] the freedom allowed the individual in managing his property strengthens his character and develops his initiative.

Democratic socialist contributions to American history are usually simply dismissed as impertinent. For example, Bragdon and McCutchen, in *History of a Free People* (pp. 286–287), in discussing the early Utopian socialism of Robert Owen and de Fourier, close the subject with the comment: "Without the profit motive, it was found difficult to get people to work hard enough to produce the goods on which life depends." In Muzzey and Link's *Our American Republic* (p. 362), the failure of the Socialist Labor and Socialist parties in the late nineteenth century is explained as follows: "The ideas of individualism and the opportunity for men to rise by their own efforts from the ranks of the workers to independence and wealth were too strong."

Nowhere does one find a reference to the fact that many of the leading "muckrakers" of the early twentieth century, especially those most often lauded in the textbooks—Upton Sinclair and Jack London—were actually socialists, working members of the Socialist Party.

Conversely, other textbooks seem to identify any kind of government contribution as socialistic and possibly communistic. An admittedly extreme example is found in the textbook for *Comparative Government, Economics and World Affairs* by Brown, Cashin, Kovinick and Lockard, used in an unusual course offered in four high schools of the Centinela Valley School District of Los Angeles County. For this course of study, in the textbook prepared by these men, appears the following passage under the heading "The Threats of Extreme Left Wing Philosophies" (pp. 238–39):

> Another group of philosophers we might term 'moral radicals.' Although most of these would claim no connection with any radical political organization, they aid the cause of these groups by poking fun at the moral values upon which our society is founded. They make a mockery of patriotism, laugh at our moral standards, and debunk the heroes of our past. These are the very things the Communist missions wish to promote in order to destroy our desire to fight for our social order.
>
> 'Mild' socialists pose another threat. . . . One might feel that most of these groups are not enough of a threat to really be concerned about as they are small in number in terms of our total population. However, they are very influential and many are highly educated. They obtain positions as authors, educators, lecturers, motion picture and television writers; some are elected

> to public office. It is then quite easy for their philosophies to reach all of the American public. We cannot justly, except in the case of actual Communist Party members, restrict their right to speak and hold office; but we can be aware of what they are doing to our society and refuse to support or follow their beliefs.

And McClenaghan in *Magruder's American Government* says on page 20: "One needs only to look at the great achievements and the standard of living of the American people to see the advantages of our economic system. We view the trends toward nationalization and socialism in other countries with grave misgivings."

The intense hostility to all things Marxist assists, of course, in leading the textbook to oversimplify complex issues. *Magruder's American Government* continues on page 25 with, "Man is independent and creative by nature. By suppressing these traits, Communism has surely forecast its own destruction."

If the American high school student is led to believe that Communism will go away by its own suppression of the "independent and creative" spirit, he may be in for a sad disappointment.

Eibling, King, and Harlow, in *Our United States, A Bulwark of Freedom* (p. 589), say:

> The real difference between our democracy and communism is easily understood. The difference is this: In our republic, or representative democracy, the people are more important than the state, and the government is the servant of the people. In a communistic state, the state is more important than the people, and the people are the servants and tools of the government.

Comments: Granted, material abundance is, without cavil, a good thing—far better than poverty. But must this happy situation be so constantly stressed; and particularly, must it be stressed that all Americans now enjoy this abundance when, in unhappy fact, they do not? And must it be stressed that the abundance is the direct result of a pure nineteenth century system of "free enterprise," which, in fact, we never had (the granting of franchises, monopolies, subsidies, tariff protection, etc.) and most certainly have not had since 1933? Must it be stressed that the inferior material living standard of all our current enemies is also the direct result of pure Communism, which, in fact, no nation actually practices?

The report of the National Task Force on economic education, *Economic Education in the Schools,* states (p. 14):

> The most important step toward understanding in economics—as in other branches of knowledge—is the replacement of emotional, unreasoned judgments by objective, rational analysis. This is the first lesson to be learned in approaching the study of economics.

The report states further (p. 25):

> In fact, most economies are mixed, neither purely private enterprise nor socialist (or communist), neither purely controlled by individual spending nor centrally directed. Thus, in the American economy today, the great bulk of our productive activity is carried on by private, profit-motivated businesses, largely guided by the demands of millions of individual consumers. But federal, state, and local governments tax away and disburse about one quarter of the public's total income each year, and thus to that extent control what is produced and who gets it.

I am not, nor do I suggest anyone else become, an apologist for the Soviet Union, China, or any of the Communist nations. But I do say that to use these nations—which in most instances have not had the long tradition of individualism, have not had a hundred and fifty years of constantly improving industrialization and productive techniques, have not had the abundance of natural resources with which to build up material comfort (a relative comfort which Americans generally do enjoy), have not had the geographic isolation from destructive wars fought on their own soil, have not had, at least as an ideal, universal free education—simply as backboards against which to bounce examples of American superiority does a disservice to the student and to the teacher who must work from these books. If the public schools wish to inform their students about socialism or communism, I applaud. Such dynamic and forceful, even dangerous, ideologies should not be ignored. At best, such information should broaden the all too provincial vision of the teen-ager, make him aware of the fact that a sizeable portion of the world holds principles different from those of liberal-conservative America, and suggest to him the possibility that there is more than one way to deal with "the problem of scarcity and how to overcome it." At worst, oversimplification will merely reinforce this provincialism by offering the apathetic student a set of ready-made assumptions that the yardstick of economic and social success was "made in America," and that all other systems stand or fall according to how closely they adhere to the "American way."

If the school-aged youth only learns in his 11th and 12th grade classroom what we think of our enemies, he is wasting his time. The cheapest newspaper or comic book can tell him that. Patriotism is surely not served by mere denunciation.

But, even more important, if in order to instill patriotic devotion, the textbook suggests that democratic collective action or government welfare programs are the same thing as socialism, or even that socialism is the same thing as communism, then neither patriotism nor truth is served.

The United States government, operating as an assistant in economic organization, need not become a tyranny, nor should its efforts to correct ancient injustices be interpreted as the opening wedge for totalitarian communism. Just as Negroes, joined by their Caucasian friends, demanded freedom of person in the nineteenth century, as workingmen and liberals demanded a free school system and the right of collective bargaining, so now people demand clean air, uncluttered landscapes, and health services as good as medical science can provide. Again, the American past has been a history of expanding rights and benefits for all. This expansion has been accomplished by the group action of citizens who desired the rights. This is the democratic way: it is the way we have chosen. The fact that others have, perhaps regrettably, chosen other ways, also utilizing collective action, should not be lost on the high school students of today. And democratic action should never be inferred to be the same as some kind of "creeping 'ism." Human rights and material benefits have no finite ultimate. They will continue to expand in concept, and hopefully, in fact.

C: The Space Problem

The tabulation of actual space in the textbooks devoted to the subjects of labor, labor legislation, workingmen and their problems, the distribution of wealth, social-economic security legislation, workmen's compensation, and the tax structure, can be highly misleading. It is preferable, of course, that the authors do a superb treatment in one-half page than a poor treatment in ten. Nevertheless, in the tabulation of pages, one comes up with some interesting observations. The eighteen U.S. History textbooks average 703 pages in length, excluding all indices, charts, graphs, maps, etc., ordinarily found at the end of a book. There is an average of 17.6 pages devoted to all the subjects surveyed in this study. The fifteen U.S. Government and American Problems textbooks are somewhat better in allocating space: their average length is 578 pages, of which 27.3 pages are devoted to the subjects under consideration.

In some of the textbooks which include chronologies, or lists of important events and activities, in order to assist the less able student to organize his thoughts, I find again that the subject of labor is somehow de-emphasized. In Muzzey and Link's *Our American Republic*, there is a "timetable of contemporary cultural, economic, and political events 1600–1960." In this timetable 283 items are listed as worthy of note. ("James A. Naismith invents basketball," or "Stephen Foster writes 'Jeannie With the Light Brown Hair.' ") Of these 283 items, four have to do, directly or indirectly, with labor and other topics in this study. These same authors also include, on pages 717–719, a chronology of significant events beginning with Columbus' voyage and ending with the Test Ban Treaty of 1963. There are 286 items listed as significant. Of these, nine have to do, directly or indirectly, with the study topics. In Ver Steeg's *The American People, Their History* (pp. 772–774), there is a chronological list of 164 important events in United States history. Four, directly or indirectly, are connected with labor, two of these with the Social Security Act of 1935 and its amendment in 1956. The other two are the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Taft-Hartley Act. There is nothing on labor and these social legislation topics before 1935; for that year passage of the Social Security Act is noted. The National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act, accorded by most labor historians as the most significant legislation ever enacted concerning the organization of labor in the United States, is not listed as a significant event in United States history.

In Bragdon and McCutchen's *History of a Free People,* on pages xi–xii at the beginning of the book (having made clear that, "Furthermore, without resorting to socialism, they [the American people] have found means to see that wealth is widely shared"), there is a list of ten "outstanding characteristics" of Americanism. Not one mentions labor directly or indirectly, except possibly under point four, "A Mobile Population," which says: "Thus America has held to the ideal of a 'middle-class' society, without noblemen or commissars at the top, and without serfs or proletarians at the bottom."

Only two books of documents are widely used in the schools of Los Angeles County. Commager's extremely well done two-volume *Documents of American History,* and Craven, Johnson, and Dunn's *A Documentary History of the American People.* In the latter book, there are 252 separate documents, 11 concerning, directly or indirectly, labor. There is only one labor document catalogued after statements on the justification for trade unionism, made by Samuel Gompers and John Mitchell of the United Mine Workers around the turn of the century, and that one document is a speech delivered in 1937 by John L. Lewis. Nothing on the Wagner Act, nothing on the Fair Labor Standards Act, nothing on contemporary trade unionism.

In Eibling, King, and Harlow's, *Our United States, A Bulwark of Freedom,* a chronology, presumably of important events, lists 208 items, five concerning, directly or indirectly, labor.[20] Harlow and Noyes' *Story*

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[20] In my estimation, the following two books, though apparently not widely used, are weakest on any account of the subjects under study: Eibling, King, and Harlow, *Our United States, A Bulwark of Freedom* (River Forest, Illinois: Laidlaw Brothers, 1962), where in 638 pages, excluding appendices, four have to do with labor or Social Security; and Clark, Compton, and Hendrickson, *Freedom's Frontier* (Chicago: Lyons & Carnaham, 1960), where in 793 pages three have to do with labor.

of America includes a "Chronology of Important Events" with 187 items. Fourteen have to do with the subjects of this study.

One finds the same weaknesses prevalent in the suggestions for outside reading and in other teaching aids to assist the students. In Muzzey and Link's *Our Country's History,* at the beginning of the book, there are 183 suggested films and film strips for the course. Not a single one has anything to do with labor. We have subjects like *Andrew Carnegie* and *The First Flight of the Wright Brothers,* but no labor. Of the 51 selected paperback books recommended for the course in U.S. History, not one deals in depth with American labor or is about labor *per se.*[21]

D: Supplementary Materials

The School Libraries

There seems little doubt that the average teacher ties his course rather closely to the textbook. And there is no doubt that the textbook represents the major reading matter that the student will peruse on the subjects under study. However, in all high schools in Los Angeles County there are libraries. The American public school system believes in bringing the library into the schools, and most teachers believe that most library work done by students is done on school premises. Therefore, it seemed pertinent to check the libraries of the schools visited, to list the books relevant to this research, and to ascertain how many times they had been checked out. The books most often found on the shelves of high school libraries (of course, in probably no library are *all* of these books found) are as follows:

1. Daniels, Walter M. *The American Labor Movement.* New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1958.
2. Dulles, Foster R. *Labor in America.* New York: T. Y. Crowell Co., 1949, 1955, 1960.
3. Faulkner and Starr. *Labor in America.* New York: Harper, 1944, 1949.
4. Barbash, Jack. *Unions and Union Leadership.* New York: Harper, 1959.
5. Barbash, Jack. *The Practice of Unionism.* New York: Harper, 1956.
6. Barbash, Jack. *Labor Unions in Action.* New York: Harper, 1948.
7. Rayback, Joseph G. *A History of American Labor.* New York: McMillan, 1959.

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[21] Some of the publishers' representatives interviewed stated that their companies are now publishing paper-backed books on specific subjects which might not be so well covered in general texts, and that they are trying to promote sales of these books through the teachers in order to "beef up" the general survey courses in History and Government. Most of them report that their sales are "not good."

8. Peterson, Florence. *American Labor Unions.* New York: Harper, 1945, 1952, 1963.
9. Lester, Richard A. *As Unions Mature.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958.
10. Shippen, Katherine B. *This Union Cause.* New York: Harper, 1958.

Books not often found on the shelves, but still often enough to indicate an awareness of their existence among school librarians, are as follows:

1. Austin, Aleine. *The Labor Story.* New York: Coward-McCann, 1949.
2. Goldberg, Arthur J. *AFL-CIO: Labor United.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956.
3. Lens, Sidney. *Working Men: The Story of Labor.* New York: Putnam, 1960.
4. Taft, Philip. *The A.F. of L. from the Death of Gompers to the Merger.* New York: Harper, 1959.
5. Taft, Philip. *The Structure and Government of Labor Unions.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954.
6. Velie, Lester. *Labor U.S.A.* New York: Harper, 1959.
7. Beard, Mary. *The American Labor Movement: A Short History.* New York: McMillan, 1939.
8. Marx, Herbert. *American Labor Unions.* New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1950.
9. Lineberry, William P. *The Challenge of Full Employment.* New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1962.
10. Paradis, Adrian A. *Labor in Action.* New York: Messner, 1963.

As will be seen later, many teachers believe that any weakness in the classroom treatment of a subject will be corrected by having the student do outside work, such as the preparing of term papers or oral reports. These teachers believe that a well-stocked library is of great importance to their students in handling the subjects that concern us. However, in those schools where the librarian stamps the date, including the year, on the check-out card in the book, I was able to determine, to a certain extent, how often the books were used. Here, the teachers would be in for a severe disappointment. In far too many instances the books on the shelves are not checked out from one year to the next. Most often, easy-to-read books, such as those by Peterson or Shippen, will be used one to three times per year. In this case "used" means that the books have been checked out of the library by the student to take home for further reading. There seems to be no way of ascertaining how many times a book may have been used in the library itself—simply taken off the shelf, perused briefly by the student, and put back on the shelf without consulting the librarian. It was also interesting to note that in libraries which had copies of Senator John McClellan's analysis of his investigation of racketeering and corruption in labor, *Crime Without Punishment,* and Robert Kennedy's work, *The Enemy Within,* the readership of these two books outnumbered that of the books on my list by about four to one.

I should also point out that in several libraries many of the books listed were obviously brand new, purchased within the last year or two, still wearing their glossy, new jackets, and in most instances they had not been checked out at all. Hopefully, this can lead one to suppose that librarians are becoming more aware of standard works on labor, and that the libraries themselves will improve in quality over the next few years. However, with evidence gleaned from this study I can make no prediction of whether or not these books will be read by the students in the schools.

The selection of books to be bought in any school year seems to be left almost entirely to the school librarian, to use her budget as she sees fit. Most librarians interviewed said that teachers, particularly those of the social studies, seldom submit lists of books desired, or that these teachers assist them in the choice of books. Therefore, the librarian seems to be left with suggestions made by the American Library Association or by catalogues which come to her from the publishers.

The Instruction Guides

All high schools included in this study supplement their social studies courses with a guide or diagram which purports to direct beginning and veteran teachers, and to bring a certain consistency in the material covered from classroom to classroom. Such aids are referred to as courses of study, course outlines, teaching guides, instructional guides, or under similar titles. This study shall use the term 'guide' throughout the discussion of their content and effectiveness.

The guide is usually prepared by a committee of administrators and teachers, often during a summer workshop or institute.[22] Occasionally, a "resource person" will be added to the committee.[23]

The guides vary greatly in size, ranging from a 10-page outline to a 300-page treatise. Ideally, these guides should suggest methods to supplement the in-depth study of any topic covered in a general way in the textbook, as well as to provide reference materials and other sources of information for the study of contemporary matters which may not be included in the book. The majority of the guides are cursory on the specific subjects of labor unions, labor legislation, and welfare programs.

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[22] A summer workshop or institute is held under the auspices of the school district or County office. Certain assignments are made, or subjects are investigated. Attendance at some of these gatherings is accepted for course credits or salary increases. In most school districts, teachers are obligated to attend a certain number of institutes per year.

[23] A resource person is a "nonteacher," or a teacher in a higher academic institution working in, or teaching, the subject for which the guide is being compiled.

Educational films are listed in the guides as supplementary aids, using the extension which audio-visual equipment has made available to the high school teacher. Three films appeared more than once, "Strike in Town," "With These Hands" and "Working Together," and were reviewed for this study. The first two were evaluated as pro-labor, the third merely as naive. A 1961 Long Beach Unified School District guide, which lists both "Strike in Town" and "With These Hands," offers the following debate topics for students having seen the films: (1) Labor unions are too powerful; (2) Labor unions are not democratic; (3) Today, the laboring man seldom gains from a strike. These topics, or the wording as it appears in the guide, would seem to effectively offset any positive impression about labor, etc., created by the films.

Another guide contains the idea of interviewing a "specialist" and suggests using a tape recorder so that the class may later hear the actual discussion. This guide lists such interview topics as: monetary system (banks), business organizations (manager), labor (shop steward), and taxation (tax collector, assessor, or official). The Los Angeles City School System's instructional guide for Contemporary American Problems and Government, prepared in 1964, suggests interviewing union members on their motives for joining a union, their extent of participation, and so on.

The familiar device of the "current events report" is offered in one guide which goes on to specify the reporting of a labor-management dispute. The student should delve into ". . . its causes, contentions, methods used, efforts at settlement." This same guide also suggests role-playing by students, some taking the part of laborers blaming immigration for their job troubles and others taking the opposing view. (The opposing position is unstated in the guide, so the teacher evidently has the option to outline the opposition.)

The study of labor is integrated and part of the whole subject of vocational planning in the Compton School District guides which may be criticized only on organization. Here, vocational planning and labor's role in the economy precedes a study of the economy itself. The Los Angeles City School System has prepared a 225-page instructional guide for the teaching of United States History with a relatively objective treatment of labor subjects. For example, on page 135, statements from both Samuel Gompers and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. are included in a list of

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"concepts to be remembered." There is, on page 178, a discussion of the Taft-Hartley Act and its proposed repeal, with the admonition that one should understand that neither business nor labor may use its organized power in restraint of trade, nor to "imperil the health and welfare of a nation."

By far the most comprehensive of the guides is that prepared by the Culver City School District for its social studies program, 12th grade. Not only labor and social legislation, but also the activities of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Social Security program, public housing, the health insurance controversy, and the Veterans Administration are given adequate coverage. (See Appendix B.)

In most guides, the researcher is reduced to an effort of simply finding the word "labor" used, and to a tabulation of its incidence. For instance, a team-teaching guide prepared for U.S. History courses at South Bay Union District schools lists 256 items to be covered. Ten have something to do with labor. Three mention the word itself. A massive 300-page guide for American Institutions courses compiled for Monrovia High School in 1961, consists primarily of examination questions rather than an outline or suggested activities. Out of this wealth of paper and words only one question dealt with labor. It required a definition of closed shop, collective bargaining, and open shop. The course of study for Civics, Arcadia Unified High School, contains no references to labor. The word is not mentioned.

Yet, omission can be said to serve the cause of insight when the alternative is inclusion of half-truths, idealistic abstractions, or rose-colored views of economics. *Comparative Government, Economics and World Affairs,* by Brown, Cashin, Kovinick and Lockard, is a publication of the Centinela Valley Union High School District and is prepared to accompany their book (same title), used in the 12th grade social studies course. In Unit I, on page 8, the authors discuss three theories of government—totalitarianism, anarchism and realism—and use the American society as the norm for realism.

> In our country we have American Realism. No other nation in the world has a system exactly like ours. We call our system Realism because our system functions just as we say it does. We do not claim that our system is going to change into a different one, nor do we want it to; but we constantly work to perfect it.
>
> Realism is based, as you will see, on balances between the forces of Anarchism and Totalitarianism. It is because of these balances that we have freedom in America and elsewhere in the world. Since our system is a balance between the two dangerous extremes, it is important that we understand our own system so that we can compare it with and protect it from, the other extreme systems.

"The Meaning of Money," a chapter in Unit III, includes a story of two young men, shipwrecked on an island, who stumble their way to a new understanding of money as a means of exchange. The chapter goes on to explain that gold is the basis of the American dollar, and then makes a comparison with the ". . . money system in the Communist nations. . . . It is possible for the Soviet government to print whatever amount of money it wants. Since the Soviet money has no real value, all prices must be set by the state" (p. 88).

This elaborate guide further explains the theory of "realism" under the heading of "Production and Labor" (p. 107):

> Since the basic purpose of wealth in this system is to increase the consumption of consumer products, it is necessary to make such products available and to have money available with which to buy them. The products that are produced are those that the people desire to purchase. . . . In order to improve their production efficiency, various employers compete for labor. This provides more and better products and more money to buy the products because of the money earned by labor and the competition in producing the products which keeps the price down. Therefore, this system (realism) is based upon Production and Labor Competition.

Comments: In the consideration of instruction guides, course outlines, etc., I had to keep two factors firmly in mind both of which had to do with the actual amount of influence wielded on the teacher, and thus on the student, by the content of the guide. I soon learned that it would be impossible to ascertain the relevance of the guide to what is actually taught in a given classroom.

Not a few teachers stated categorically that their instructional guides were concocted, or the content strongly influenced, by administrative planners, the teachers themselves having never even read the documents and much less having made an attempt to follow them. Despite occasional complaints of teachers that they felt pressure from the administration or from the community to soft-pedal certain subjects (and they frequently cited labor subjects to me as an example) and to emphasize others, there seems actually to exist a considerable amount of freedom in the classroom. One department chairman[24] complained, "I know he [a government teacher in question] doesn't follow the course of study, but what can I do? The man has tenure, in fact he has been here close to twenty-five years. I can't discipline a man like that." Another department chairman called the difference between the guide and actual teaching "anarchy!"

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[24] Although friendly to administrative policy and perhaps chosen for that reason, department chairmen are teachers first and chairmen second. They are usually released from one or two teaching periods per day for their supervisory or administrative duties, but since they are the lowest rank of administration they seem to have little actual authority.

The admitted fact that the course of study is not always strictly followed has escaped some principals and curriculum supervisors. More than one principal answered a request to interview staff teachers with "but there is no reason for you to talk to the teachers. You have the course outline right here. This is what we teach in this school."

The actual methods, emphasis, comprehensiveness and attitude of the individual teacher in the classroom then remained a mystery until this team of investigators began face-to-face interviews, the results of which will be discussed later in this study.

Thoroughly convinced that the guide was only a theoretical indication of the course, I also had to recognize the mercurial nature of these guides. Any notice of the rapidly changing dates of guides acquaints the reader with the realization that administrators and curriculum planners insist that a course outline or guide is frequently "reviewed." It would not be rash to conclude that most guides are changed, revised or supplemented every two years. Perhaps the motivation for change comes from administrators, principals, vice-principals, assistant principals, supervisors, directors, coordinators, in short, those persons who do little actual teaching. It also may be that in the line of command of the public school system, any desire for change on the part of the community is brought to the attention of the administration, not of the teacher.

There has also been what might be termed an "ideological" change in some courses, usually those called Government or Problems. For several years the content of the 12th grade Problems course hinged roughly on psychology, or a teen-age view of sociology, with a major emphasis on immediate personal problems that the teen-ager faced or was thought to face by his adult advisors. Such courses can still be found in some schools. In other schools the impact of strongly voiced charges of "economic illiteracy,"[25] together with the rise of conservative and right-wing demands for a stronger denunciation of socialism and communism, with accompanying demands for instruction in the "free enterprise" system, has brought about changes in the guides, even if the textbook remained the same.[26]

In summary, these documents (investigated by consulting the files in the offices of high schools in Los Angeles County as well as the Los Angeles (City) Board of Education), which are frequently changed and do not faithfully mirror the activities in the classrooms, must be considered rather quaint archives. At best they only indicate what the administration hopes, and the community wants, to be taught.

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[25] The United States Department of Commerce, some years ago, declared "we are a nation of economic boobs." *Challenge,* March 1964, p. 2.

[26] Dr. Max Rafferty, State Superintendent of Public Instruction in California, has openly called for "Indoctrination" to counter the insinuation of left-wing and liberal philosophies.

E: SUMMARY

In many ways the textbooks analyzed are of superb quality, certainly superior to those used a few years ago. Generally, the teachers who choose the newer books seem to be right in their choice. The format of the books, particularly those published since 1960, is superior. The paper is of fine quality. The pictures, albeit of a rather pristine America, are excellent reproductions. Aesthetically, the books are quite beautiful.

Another encouraging note for proponents of labor is that, generally, the books most in use in high schools in Los Angeles County are also the best books in the opinion of this researcher. There are over 25,000 copies of Bragdon and McCutchen's *History of a Free People,* a relatively good book now used in high schools in the County for 11th grade U.S. History courses. There are no more than 600 copies in use of *West's Story of Our Country,* a poor book. However, even here, Ver Steeg's *The American People: Their History,* one of the best books, has a very limited use, while the two books by Muzzey and Link, notably innocent, have sold thousands of copies.

For the U.S. Government classes, *Magruder's American Government* is the most popular book and is perhaps the best of a rather disappointing lot. Rienow's *American Government in Today's World* is the third most popular book and has little to recommend it for the subjects under discussion in this study.

Ironically, the poorest textbooks for our subjects are those used in the American Problems semester of the 12th grade. Where I had expected to find contemporary problems and practices subjected to close scrutiny and sophisticated analysis, I found instead a general hodgepodge of oversimplifications, superfluities, and moralizations. However, happily I found that many teachers, who work with the American Problems classes, were in complete agreement with this observation, and consequently some use no text for the course. They use instead selected readings from anthologies, current periodicals, and paper-backed books, and report that their students appreciate the opportunity to strike outside the confines of a hard-bound textbook, often for the first time.

But this is not to say that the textbooks offer no information, or that they are universally wrong in their interpretation. In most instances, the information is quite correct (although glaring errors still creep into even the most polished textbook). It is more to say that the textbooks too frequently yield a particular point of view, and that this point of view is often hostile to the subjects under discussion.

Strikes are usually portrayed as exceedingly violent and accomplishing nothing. Unions, as political activists and instigators of social-economic legislation, are adequately described by only two of the eighteen U.S. History textbooks and by only one-third of the Government and Problems books. Even an adequate definition of such words as "injunction," "arbitration," "closed shop," etc., is seldom given in the books. Although more care is exhibited in describing the labor-management laws now existent, little is said of the historical background, or the need, for such legislation. Collective bargaining, which has established a system of industrial jurisprudence in most of American industry, whether organized by a union or not, is ignored by well over half of all books. Little is said of automation, and what is said suggests that a technological marvel is in the offing with little hint of accompanying labor dislocations. Social Security, although generally better handled than most other items of this study (perhaps because it is easier to chart with lists of benefits), still seems a bit paternalistic to some authors. Possible extensions of such legislation, or precedents set by other democratic countries, are usually ignored or dismissed as socialistic. Workmen's Compensation and state disability insurance are barely mentioned in most U.S. History books and adequately handled by only a minority of the Government and Problems books. Progressive taxation is treated with childish naiveté.

If this study were to end with the perusal of textbooks, the question of what is being taught to prospective employees of America about labor and the economy would have to receive a rather unsatisfactory answer. The answer would be unsatisfactory not so much because of a lack of information, but because of what is included in the textbook so often invites, encourages, and even demands an anti-labor position from the reader.

I suppose what I had really hoped to find was more insight and understanding in handling the complexities of the subject, perhaps more akin to the treatment given by a book which has become almost a classic for the beginning college survey course in U.S. History: Morison and Commager's *The Growth of the American Republic.* For example, in Volume II (p. 232), the authors say:

> ... Meantime there developed in the late nineteenth century a double standard of social morality for labor and capital. Combination of capital was regarded as in accordance with natural laws; combination of labor as a conspiracy. Monopoly was good business, and businessmen denounced or evaded the Sherman Act, but the closed shop was un-American. It was the duty of government to aid business and to protect business interests, but government aid to labor was socialism. That business should go into politics was common sense, but that labor should go into politics was contrary to the American

tradition. Property had a natural right to a fair return on its value, but the return which labor might enjoy was to be regulated strictly by the law of supply and demand. Appeals to protect or enhance property interests were reasonable, but appeals to protect or enhance labor interests were demagogic. Brokers who organized business combines were respectable public servants, but labor organizers were agitators. The use of Pinkerton detectives to protect business property was preserving law and order, but the use of force to protect the job was violence and for labor to call in the militia or federal troops to protect its property in jobs was quite unthinkable. To curtail production in the face of an oversupply of consumers' goods was sound business practice, but to strike for shorter hours in the face of an oversupply of labor was unsound. The list might be extended, but the principle is more interesting than the practice. The double standard was illogical, but it was real, and labor had the choice of conforming to it, defying it, or changing it. Conformity was not to be expected, and defiance was generally suicidal, so labor naturally directed its efforts toward changing it. The story of the gradual modification of this double standard can be read in the history of labor organization and in the record of social legislation of state and federal governments over the past fifty years.

If this kind of treatment can apparently be digested by beginning college students, surely, with some modification of vocabulary and syntax, it could also be presented for comprehension to high school students who, after all, are only one or two years younger.

Part II

THE TEACHERS

Although the instruction guides theoretically inform the investigator of how a particular course is structured, and an analysis of the textbook would seem to indicate what body of information is to be imparted during the class period, we still wished to find out what the teacher actually did with his formal guides, course outlines, and textbooks, when the door closed on his classroom and he was alone with his students. Does he actually teach his students to analyze the economic changes during the nation's history? Does he, in his Civics class, instruct his students in the increasingly complex role which the government—federal, state and local—plays in the economic life of the nation? In citizenship instruction, are the students made aware of their responsibilities--personal, social, and political—for the economy as it exists now, and, as assumed, will continue to exist? In the Problems courses, are the students made aware that there are indeed unsolved problems to which they must turn their attention; that, although a goodly portion of the population today lives in the economic and social middle class, it has not always been so, and there is no adequate guarantee that it will be so in the future unless dedication to problem solving continues? Do they know that many middle-class families are where they are because both husband and wife work at a job, and that a little extra "moonlighting" is more than occasionally thrown in for good measure? (The not-so-old saw is of a man who says to his friend, "If you lose your job, it's a recession. If I lose mine, it's a depression. If my wife loses hers, it's a catastrophe.") Is there student concern about unemployment, automation, continuing poverty, urban congestion? Are students taught to think, in a rational and pragmatic way, about what kind of economy they have, and do they consider it an open question what kind they want for the future? Are they given an opportunity to reflect on the historical contributions of labor and government, as well as business, to the shaping of the present situation?

To find answers to some, or all, of these questions, we used the currently fashionable tools of the prepared questionnaire and the personal interview. The questionnaire consists of three parts: (1) Questions concerning specific textbooks and supplementary materials used by the teacher; (2) Questions concerning the relative emphasis placed on ten economic subjects; (3) Questions concerning the probability of class discussions on a list of thirty economic and labor topics related to the subjects in Part 2 of the questionnaire. We attempted to stabilize the interviews by preparing an additional list of questions pertinent to this study, which were selected from Part 3 of the questionnaire and were asked by the interviewer in his discussion with the teachers.

Since the return on questionnaires of this type is almost always disappointing in quantity, we attempted a closer control. We originally chose twenty high schools in the county of Los Angeles and fifteen high schools within the City school system,[1] with as widespread an economic, social, and geographic distribution as possible. By telephone, I introduced myself and the nature of our research to the administrators of the high schools chosen. Having secured their cooperation, I then mailed five or six copies of the questionnaire, together with a covering letter, to the department chairman or, in a few cases, another official of the school. (Appendix C) The recipient of this mailing then chose from among the teaching staff those who would agree to complete our questionnaire and meet with us for an interview. Leaving the selection of participants up to the chairman or administrator may have skewed our findings rather sharply in favor of those who were more interested in the research aspects of this study and away from those who found it to be of doubtful value. Moreover, when interviewing the teachers, we felt that we detected a remarkable similarity between points of view of the teachers and that of the department chairman, indicating that perhaps the chairman was able to secure the cooperation of men and women on his staff who were close to him in overall philosophy.

A week after the questionnaires were sent, appointments were made for interviews with the teachers. At the appointed time, the interviewer, with the completed questionnaire in front of him, discussed with the teacher the relative level of sophistication he used in treating the economic topics (Part 3 of the questionnaire) he had listed as ordinarily covered in his class. After all interviews in the particular school had been completed, the interviewer recorded his impressions of the school, the teachers interviewed, and any other pertinent information for further reference.

I confess that I had no idea when I began this procedure how difficult it would be to secure information from teachers as to what they teach in their classes. The fact is that many teachers do not know exactly what they teach, or how systematically they teach it. A great many teachers interviewed stated that they deliberately allow their students to direct the discussion of subjects, so that they will be talking about issues which are of immediate concern to the students. This information definitely complicates the truthfulness of answers to the questionnaire. The teacher can say with candor, "Well yes, we do cover that subject sometimes. In fact, I remember last year a student brought it up in class, and we spent the whole period on it, but I don't do it every semester."

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[1] I ultimately increased the number of high schools located in the county of Los Angeles to twenty-eight, of which twenty-six offered full cooperation. The reason for this change in plan was that the City School System of Los Angeles consistently refused to allow me to interview teachers within the system and placed such restrictions on the use of the questionnaire that it seemed to be no longer of any value.

Another difficulty encountered during the interviews, which tends to make the results less concise and less valid than I had hoped, was the strong suspicion on the part of some teachers concerning the motives of the interviewer. There is, perhaps understandably, a good deal of real fear present among teachers. True, the era of McCarthy may have ended, but the influence of the John Birch Society, or other intensely interested groups in the communities' schools, certainly has not. Teachers may not be as fearful as they were thought to be by one waggish person who said, "Teachers are like a sackful of rabbits. If you reach in and grab one by the ears, the rest of them just sit and quiver." But I encountered teachers who were so evasive in their answers and so reluctant to state what they taught, or how they taught it, that their answers ultimately revealed nothing. For example, a woman history teacher at a high school in the eastern part of the County, after consistently refusing to mark her questionnaire or to allow how she taught anything, and boasting that her students could never ascertain her attitude toward subject matter, said finally: "Come on now. You can tell me who sent you." This woman's students may or may not know how she feels about the subject matter. As a result of the interview, I don't either.

Along with fear, hostility frequently came from teachers who felt that the whole purpose of the questionnaire was to propagandize them into some notion of the importance of labor unions, labor legislation, and Social Security. Their sometimes angry accusations that "big labor has too much power," or "the government has killed free enterprise," perhaps reflect their teaching emphasis, but I cannot prove this since their questionnaires were usually blank.

Some teachers, again perhaps understandably, seemed to feel defensive about the questionnaire and the interview. There was no intent to question the teacher's competence or his efficiency in the classroom. But the very fact that a list of items appears before the teacher which he is to mark seemed to some to imply that he must teach those subjects, and that if he has not done so, he has been derelict in his duties. We, of course, guaranteed all teachers and their schools complete anonymity.

Even so, we found on the part of some teachers reluctance to answer questions for fear that their name would appear in print. This fear was frequently voiced by the teacher as fear of administrative or community reprisal. One teacher in a suburban high school in the San Fernando Valley reported that last year he had been called to task by irate parents in the community for having said to his class that Marx's intentions were humanitarian.

Other teachers seemed to take the whole study with a certain amount of levity. This refusal to take seriously the study often resulted in only partial completion of the questionnaire or, in some instances, in making outlandish estimates of amounts of time spent on a given subject. Also, some teachers had filled out the questionnaire only after reading, perhaps for the first time, the instruction guides. Indeed, some teachers had not completed the questionnaire until they met with the interviewer. Presumably, they wished to know how they were "supposed" to answer. For instance, one teacher indicated on the questionnaire that he indeed spent a vast amount of time on this subject, that he fought against anti-labor prejudices in his community, that he used a great deal of library time and printed matter, that he showed several films on labor, that he conducted panel discussions with his students on the inadequacies of the textbook; in short, that he made all kinds of efforts. However, when interviewed, he admitted that he did not know what the Landrum-Griffin Act was, that he had never heard of the Employment Act of 1946, and that he could not define the functions of the National Labor Relations Board. His affirmative answers then came into serious question. These and other difficulties in eliciting absolutely truthful and objective answers from the teachers forced us to throw out fifty, or roughly one-third, of the questionnaires as being of no value. One hundred and ten questionnaires are regarded as valid and prepared with some care by the teachers. I, or an assistant, interviewed each of these teachers.

In interviewing teachers of U.S. History, the first question in Part 1 of the questionnaire asked the teacher to give the title of his basic text; the second question asked for the titles of any supplementary texts which he generally used as desk copies in his class. We found that 39 percent used no text supplementary to the basic text issued to their classes; 21 percent used one supplementary text, usually an older copy; 27 percent used at least two supplementary texts, and 13 percent used three or more.

Question three concerned supplementary texts issued to students for a period of time to read on special subjects in the class. Sixty-six percent of the teachers used no supplementary texts; 19 percent used one, usually an easier text, or one for a lower reading-ability group; 9 percent used two, and 6 percent used three or more.

Question four concerned the titles of pamphlets or periodicals which the teacher used as desk copies for his own lectures or for class projects. Forty-one percent used no pamphlets or periodicals as desk copies; 32 percent used one (this one ordinarily is the teacher's copy of the *Senior Scholastic,* the *Outlook,* or the *American Observer*—three weekly periodicals prepared and published especially for high school classes); 10 percent used two, and 17 percent used three or more.

Question five, again, concerned pamphlets or periodicals which are handed to the students for a period of time for reading of specific articles and, presumably, to be questioned on these articles. Forty-one percent used none; 36 percent used one (again, one of the three periodicals listed above); 14 percent used two; 9 percent used three or more.

Question six concerned the teacher's estimate of the number of class hours ordinarily spent on labor-related subjects. We recognized that this was an exceedingly difficult question to answer, and the teachers interviewed certainly helped to make us aware of this. For many reasons, it is difficult for the teacher to estimate exactly how many hours he spends on a particular subject. One reason, already stated, is the desire to let students themselves direct their course toward issues in which they are interested. However, for those teachers who did make an estimate, one gets an extremely broad spectrum of opinion regarding class time. Among the history teachers, two answered that they spent forty hours on labor-related topics. Obviously, this is impossible. Forty hours would be eight solid weeks of classroom discussion of labor. Some answered that they spent two or three hours. Two answered that they spent only one hour. The average for all teachers of U.S. History, throwing out none of their estimates, came to 12 and 3/4 hours per year spent on labor-related topics, social-economic legislation, and labor legislation.

The seventh question was: "Do you ever use outside resource people?" Only 15 percent of the history teachers said that they had used such people, including Social Security Administration officials, Chamber of Commerce speakers, ministers from the community, lawyers, police officials, and in two instances, speakers from labor unions. Eighty-five percent answered the question negatively.

Question eight had to do with the teacher's assignment of outside work on any sort of labor-related topic, either to his very able students, or to those who were "terminal" and therefore were likely to enter the labor force sooner. Almost half of the teachers answered that they did assign outside work of some kind on labor-related topics. When asked to specify what this work consisted of, 88 percent of these teachers answered that it had to do with library reading, preparing of reports for the class, or preparing of research papers.

The same questionnaire was given to teachers of U.S. Government and Problems courses. The answers of these teachers indicated a noticeable improvement in the use of more books, more periodicals, a slightly greater amount of time spent on the subject (an average of 13.15 hours per year), a greater tendency to use outside resource people, and a slightly larger number giving some kind of outside work. Concerning the question of outside work assignments (Question No. 8, Part 1 of the questionnaire), 57 percent of the teachers said they occasionally assigned outside work to their students, and 78 percent of this group said the assignment consisted of library work, preparing reports or research papers.

It may well be that I am being presumptuous in attempting to evaluate whether or not this particular kind of assignment is the best possible for the high school student on this subject. However, I was struck by the fact that there seems to be almost no other technique used than that of cursory reading in the library, and the preparing of either orally delivered or written reports on the subject. I wonder if the student does not soon learn the art of preparing these papers and delivering them to his teacher, usually to improve his grade, and to do his job with a minimum of real understanding, and in some instances, a minimum of real work. (Note that I've already referred to the fact that the library books indicate a noticeable lack of use, at least as far as their being checked out of the library for further reading is concerned.) The findings of these interviews are summarized in Appendix D.

Part 2 of the questionnaire contained a list of ten subjects, all concerning economics, which the teacher might find occasion to discuss in his classes in U.S. History and in U.S. Government and Problems. Each of these subjects was to be paired with one of the other nine (i.e., number 1 with numbers 2, 3, 4, etc.; number 2 with numbers 3, 4, 5, etc.). The teacher was then asked to choose one member of the pair he emphasized more in his class. Having secured the teacher's evaluation in this way, we then counted the number of times that a particular subject was emphasized in relation to another and determined the relative emphasis ranking of each of the ten subjects from first (highest) to tenth (lowest) position. (Appendix E) Five of the ten subjects were of particular interest to this study: (1) The Union: History and Function; (2) Social and Economic Security Legislation; (3) Labor-Management Relations Legislation; (4) Automation; (5) Income Distribution in America.

In U.S. History courses, the order of emphasis of the ten subjects shows, by a sizeable number of counts, *Accomplishments of American Industry* in the first place. In the second place, surprisingly, is *The Farm Problem* (surprisingly, because if the teacher allows his students to choose their own emphasis, as he often seems to do, it appears odd that students in entirely urban and suburban high schools should be that interested in the farm problem). *Social and Economic Security Legislation, The Union: History and Function,* and *Federal Regulatory Agencies* were placed in third, fourth, and fifth position, ranked so closely together as to be indistinguishable. *The Business Cycle* and *Labor-Management Relations Legislation* were placed in sixth and seventh position but indicated a sharp drop from the fifth position. Again showing a sharp drop are *Automation* in eighth position, *Income Distribution in America* in ninth, and *The Modern Corporation* in tenth.

In U.S. Government and Problems courses, there appears to be a marked difference in the emphasis placed on our ten economic subjects. In these courses, *Federal Regulatory Agencies* is placed in the first position, *The Business Cycle* in the second, *The Farm Problem,* again surprisingly high, in the third, *Accomplishments of American Industry* in the fourth, and *Social and Economic Security Legislation* in the fifth. Then, indicating a sharp drop, *Labor-Management Relations Legislation* is placed in the sixth position, *Income Distribution in America* in the seventh, *Automation* in the eighth, and *The Union: History and Function* in the ninth. Then, after another sharp drop, *The Modern Corporation* is placed in the tenth position.

The political bias of the teacher is often reflected in the order in which he ranked the ten subjects. A sizeable number of teachers indicated overtly, and indeed usually with considerable pride, their particular political persuasion—at least whether they were liberal or conservative.

We selected a number of questionnaires from these more partisan teachers and analyzed them in terms of relative emphasis placed upon the subjects from a liberal or conservative point of view. The lines were clearly drawn. In the U.S. History classes, the liberal teachers placed *The Union: History and Function* in the first position, whereas the conservative teachers put it next to last, in ninth position. *The Business Cycle* and *The Modern Corporation* were ranked very low, eighth and tenth position, by the liberal teachers, and rather high by the conservative teachers. However, there was little disagreement between liberals and conservatives over *The Accomplishments of American Industry;*

for both persuasions, this subject ranked second. Also, there was apparently little controversy over *The Farm Problem.* These two subjects ranked within one place of each other on both liberal and conservative teachers' questionnaires.

For many U.S. Government and Problems teachers, an even more drastic skewing of the findings seems to take place between liberals and conservatives. For example, among conservative teachers, *The Business Cycle* is ranked far and away in first place, and among liberal teachers it is just as far and away ranked in last place. The liberal teacher placed *The Union: History and Function* in a very high third place and immediately below it *Labor-Management Relations.* The conservative teacher placed *The Union: History and Function* in a lowly last place, with *Labor-Management Relations Legislation* immediately above it. I conclude from this brief exercise, that the political opinion of the teacher, if strongly held, is perhaps more important in shaping the content of instruction than the course of study, the textbook, the amount of material available, or even the teacher's immediate knowledge of his subject.

Part 3 of the questionnaire listed thirty topics concerning economics and labor legislation. Some of these topics would inevitably arise in classroom discussion on the subjects listed in Part 2. The teacher was asked to mark those topics which were *ordinarily* discussed in his class, and was expressly cautioned not to mention those that he felt *should* be discussed but were not. We expected to find a correlation between the individual teacher's answers in Part 2 and Part 3 of the questionnaire.

For both U.S. History and Government and Problems teachers, there appear to be certain patterns of similarity in topic discussion. For example, note that in both courses the Landrum-Griffin Act received the least amount of attention: 83 percent of the History teachers say they do not discuss this law; 63 percent of the Government and Problems teachers also indicate they do not discuss it. Concerning the Legal Status of Corporations, 54 percent of the History teachers and 61 percent of the Government and Problems teachers have no discussion. On the issue of the Differences between Ownership and Control of Corporations, in both courses, 54 percent of the teachers have no discussion.

However, there are also differences apparent between teachers of U.S. History and those of Government and Problems. For example, 24 percent of the Government and Problems teachers do not discuss Medicare, but 47 percent of the History teachers omit the subject. Twenty-five percent of the Government and Problems teachers have no mention of the Variety of Consumer Goods Available under Free Enterprise, but 61 percent of the History teachers do not mention this subject. Twenty-two percent of the Government and Problems teachers have no discussion of Poverty in America Today, but 40 percent of the History teachers neglect the subject. Only 30 percent of Government and Problems teachers have no discussion of High Productivity of American Workers, but 47 percent of the History teachers have none. Thirty percent of the Government and Problems teachers have no discussion of Job Security vs. Featherbedding, but 54 percent of the History teachers have no discussion. On these topics, Government and Problems teachers consistently allot more consideration than History teachers.

However, in other subjects an interesting reversal takes place. For example, on the topic of Collective Bargaining, which would seem to fall more practically into the Government and Problems classes, 24 percent of these teachers have no discussion, whereas only 13 percent of the History teachers have none. Concerning the Taft-Hartley Act, only 11 percent of the History teachers do not discuss this law, whereas in the Government and Problems classes, 25 percent have no discussion. On the topic of Strikes, Picketing, Boycotts, and Lockouts, 18 percent of the Government and Problems teachers have no discussion; only 11 percent of the History teachers have none. In Agricultural Price Supports, an issue which would seem to fall legitimately into a course of Government and Problems, 22 percent have no discussion; but only 16 percent of the History teachers omit this topic. Concerning the National Labor Relations Board—again, presumably a subject to be covered in U.S. Government courses—more than one-third (36 percent) of these teachers have no discussion and no mention; in the History courses, only one-fifth (20 percent) have none.

Interestingly, in cases where there would seem to be considerable overlapping on topics such as Agricultural Surpluses and Agricultural Price Supports, there is no particular correlation. For example, among Government and Problems teachers, 89 percent say there is some discussion of Agricultural Surpluses, but only 78 percent have discussion of Agricultural Price Supports. Can it be, we wondered, that 11 percent of Government and Problems teachers discuss overproduction of wheat, corn, and the like, without explaining the price-support programs of the Department of Agriculture? Classroom discussion of these topics are summarized in Appendix F.

The interviews, guided by the check sheet (Appendix G), were designed to yield additional information as to the extent, depth, or complexity of the treatment used by the teacher in his classroom on the topics he had marked in Part 3 of the questionnaire. (The assumption that the teacher would have prepared his questionnaire in advance proved wrong, as has been shown.) Unfortunately, we found that the teacher was often unable to explain exactly what he does, or how he handles a topic, even though he insists it is covered in his class.

Under the general topic, *Social Security Act,* the interviewer was instructed to inquire about the coverage of Unemployment Insurance and Survivors and Disability Insurance. In some classes, particularly in the twelfth grade Government and Problems courses, the teacher utilizes the services of a representative of the Social Security Administration who addresses his class for an hour and explains the provisions of the Social Security Act. Opinions among the teachers varied as to the talent and the efficiency of these speakers. As in the case of teachers, it is to be supposed that Social Security Administration officials are not always alike in their abilities. Generally, the teachers who utilize the services of these officials believe that they do a good job with their students, and some teachers even have praise for the efforts of the personnel sent to work with their classes. There is, of course, also criticism. The head of the counseling services of a large high school with an economically and racially varied student body thinks that the Social Security Office gives her "the run-around." She said, "The man who held the representative's post until about three years ago was very good. He brought briefcases full of material which was given to the students. Now a new person handles this job, and it is not done well. There is also a poor attitude on the part of the Social Security Administration employees in that they want students to come down to the Administration Office and pick up their cards and materials rather than bringing these materials to the school."

In the City School System of Los Angeles there is a short, required class in counseling and guidance in the tenth grade of senior high school, where Social Security cards are distributed to the students in some schools, and where they are instructed as to what Social Security may mean to them, now and in the future. Apparently this is done because many students, particularly in the poorer areas of the city, begin to work part-time while still in the tenth grade. There is also the factor that the tenth grade, in all too many cases, is "terminal" for high school students. The drop-out rate is highest at the end of the tenth grade. For classes of the eleventh and twelfth grades, where there is no Social Security Administration speaker, the provisions of the Act are apparently handled in a very general way. However, teachers disagree as to the reason for this. Some state that the students are unable to grasp far-reaching and, perhaps, philosophical aspects of Social Security, whereas they can memorize certain important provisions of the law. Others insist on just the opposite—that the students are bored by detail and unable to remember it, whereas the broad general understanding of the law is within their grasp.

Teachers were also queried on their treatment of the California Disability Act (under No. 1, the *Social Security Act,* on the interviewer's check sheet). Since California is one of four states which has such legislation, and since almost all employees in the state are covered by the Act (one cent out of every dollar of an employee's wage or salary goes into this fund), the students might legitimately be expected to learn of this law. However, I found that almost none of the teachers were aware of the law. Indeed, of the Government and Problems teachers, only seven answered that they do discuss this Act in their classes, and only four of the History teachers answered in the affirmative; all the others who were asked specifically about this law, 36 in Government and Problems and 35 in History, answered that they did not discuss it.

The second interview question, *Increased Production through Automation,* seems to receive almost no treatment in any of the classes. Part of this is perhaps due to the paucity of discussion in the textbooks, and partially it may be due to the fact that the teachers are unaware of much material on automated production. Also, the subject most likely occurs near the end of the semester in History classes when there is a rush to finish material and, in fact, it may never be discussed at all in Government and Problems classes. I was looking here simply for the attitude of the teacher, and what he thought was the attitude of his students on this subject. I can draw no generalizations from the very few answers received.

Number 3 on the interviewer's check sheet concerned *Progressive Taxation.* Again the question had largely to do with the attitude of the teacher, and what he thought the attitudes of his students were on this topic. Most teachers who had marked the topic believed that their students feel income taxes to be much too high and that taxes do stifle initiative. Here one can never tell whether these are the attitudes of the teacher being expressed or are his genuine appreciation of his students' attitudes.

Interview question No. 4, regarding the *Taft-Hartley Act,* suggested three parts that might be considered in a class discussion: Right-to-Work Laws (closed, open and union shops), the Use of the Injunction, and Unfair Labor and Management Practices. As in the case of Social Security, most answers which were given to this topic indicated that it was handled, if at all, only generally, and that the students were seldom required to know any exact provisions of the Act.

Collective Bargaining, the fifth interview question, included two parts: the first asked whether the teacher made his students aware that it is, in fact, the public policy, as stated in the Labor-Management Relations Acts, that collective bargaining should be encouraged; and the second had to do with the frequency of success of collective bargaining. Collective bargaining itself seems to be very seldom touched upon in the History or Government and Problems classes. Specifically, as to the provision for public policy, an overwhelming number of teachers did not know that it was public policy of the United States government to encourage collective bargaining. Obviously, therefore, they do not make this point.

The sixth question concerning the *Landrum-Griffin Act* has already been referred to. Very few teachers, proportionately, mention Landrum-Griffin at all in their classes; and if they do, there is no concern for the exact provisions of the Act. There is no knowledge that it has to do with the financial accountability of unions; nor is there any concern for the guarantees of democratic procedure and the supervision of union elections. Question No. 7 on the *National Labor Relations Board* required, more or less, a simple definition. Did the teacher know what the Board was and what its functions were? Most teachers did have at least a definition of the NLRB, but most admitted that they did not cover this topic in their classes.

Question No. 8 involved *Poverty in America Today*. Since relatively few teachers consider this topic to any great depth, the interviewer wanted to know whether or not teachers thought this was a responsibility of our society or the personal responsibility of the individual who is in the unfortunate position of being poor. This question should be considered in juxtaposition to the one on *Welfare Programs* (No. 11), because much the same responses were given in both instances. The student's attitudes—at least those reflected through his teachers—seem to depend a great deal on the economic condition of the student and his family, and on the area in which he lives. He apparently has, generally, little conception that there is any poverty in America today except that which has been identified through broad press coverage, for example, in Appalachia. He tends to think that poverty is isolated into specific well-defined areas, and that it is remediable. However, at the same time he seems to feel that poverty, in general, is pretty much the fault of the individual who is poor. A teacher in a very wealthy high school district on the peninsula in southwestern Los Angeles County says his students believe that Negroes are just lazy, that they should go out and get jobs, that anyone who won't work is undeserving. In another all-white, middle-income district in the foothills of the San Fernando Valley, the teachers expressed the opinion that their students not only don't believe there is poverty in America today, but that they have almost no way of finding out. The overwhelming majority of them are said to have never been out of the state of California and most have never been out of the county of Los Angeles. They have been, perhaps, to Arrowhead, Big Bear, and other vacation spots. Most students have certainly never been to south central Los Angeles, although it is no more than 15 miles away. They are described as being extremely provincial, naive, and that they like it that way. As one teacher said, "They are sociologically conservative and believe they are living in the best of all possible worlds."[2]

During the interviews, I asked several teachers if they could predict with any certainty what would happen if they could take their classes on a stroll along the sidewalk in front of a downtown State Employment office and see the unfortunate people inside. "What would they think?" I asked. "Would they think that these people were deserving folk who had, through some misfortune, perhaps not their own, found themselves out of a livelihood, or would they be looked at as just a bunch of bums?" Most teachers indicated that the students' responses would probably reflect very closely their parents' opinion and their parents' economic condition—if a student's father had been unemployed recently, he would probably have some sympathy for those unemployed. If not, he would not.

Another teacher in a large high school in a very poor district of south central Los Angeles County, whom I surmised to be a very competent man, has a somewhat different interpretation. He believes that the students are much more interested in the philosophical (I suspect he means moral) implications of these subjects and how the subjects affect them personally and immediately. For example, when 75 percent (his estimate) of his students have now, or have recently had, intimate knowledge of a welfare program, they will know about it, will approve of it; but they will not necessarily know the law from which it came, nor will they have any particular desire to know of it.

It would seem that we have here a good example of what was described so very vividly by Michael Harrington in his book *The Other America* as "invisible poverty." The fact is that in Los Angeles County the population is probably segregated more exclusively by economic condition than in any other city in the United States; therefore, high school students within their own district tend to see only other high school students of roughly the same economic background. If they are poor, then most of their friends are also poor; if they are middle-class, then most of their friends are also middle-class; and so on. In a few school districts or in some high schools where this is not the case—where, in fact, there is an upper-class group from perhaps a newer hillside tract of homes $35,000 and up, along with a flat-land area of homes $12,000 and down—the students have apparently discovered pretty well who has money and who has not by the time they reach the tenth grade. But most of the high schools visited reflect a very homogeneous economic condition. Middle-income students, then, apparently do not realize that poverty can exist within a few miles of their homes, and they are incapable of finding out.

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[2] The conservatism of these students also extends apparently to student political matters. Most are said to be opposed to the Berkeley students and the 1964 Free Speech Movement; indeed, some of them have said that they may not go there, even if admitted, because they wouldn't want "that" to happen while they were there. A counselor reported that parents had cautioned him not to recommend Occidental College, because "I have heard they are not religious over there."

I even ventured to suggest to one teacher who seemed concerned about this socio-economic ignorance that a field trip might be in order for his class, a trip to one of the less fortunate areas of the County to let his students see first hand "how the other half lives." He smilingly agreed, but seeing that I was serious he answered, "No! Impossible! Much too difficult! The administrative red tape to get a field trip scheduled, the getting of a bus, the securing of parental permission, the filling out of forms for responsibility—all this, plus the scheduling problem of our own classes, makes such a thing impossible." Another teacher in an all-white, middle-class suburban district said his students "sympathize, but do not empathize" with the poor. "They tend to think that the unemployed are that way because they are lazy and stupid and that they [the students] personally will never be in that condition."[3]

The students' awareness of their economic differences seems to override any other differences that might exist between them, at least in the opinion of their teachers. In one school which is racially integrated, with perhaps the majority of the students being Negro, a teacher said that the students of middle-class families, Negro or white, reflect the middle-class mentality, that they are better in abstract thinking, more ambitious, plan to go to college, and are quite disinterested in labor-management relations. In another school in the eastern part of the County, where approximately twenty-five percent of the students are Mexican-American, mostly second and third generation, a teacher said with some heat, "These kids are just as patriotic as the Anglos." He apparently meant that they, too, disapproved of welfare programs.

Interview question No. 9 concerning the *Political Activities of Unions* suggested a response indicating the tenor of classroom discussion on lobbying procedures. There seems to be little done in the class on this point at all. Unions, apparently, are portrayed as one of several "big lobbies," but there is little explanation of the function that they serve in this capacity. Few teachers relate the lobbying or other political activities of unions to the passage of specific legislation.

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[3] This same teacher said that three of his better students worked during the 1964 election in the Watts area, registering and getting out the Negro vote against Proposition 14 prohibiting fair housing laws. In the town from which the three young men came, however, Proposition 14 passed by a vote of five to one.

Responses to *Government Spending as a Means of Creating Jobs,* the tenth question on the interviewers' check sheet, were especially interesting to me, particularly in view of the fact that increasingly it is government spending and government distribution of funds which keep the Southern California economy balanced and moving forward. I particularly wanted to know if the teacher stimulated any discussion of the Employment Act of 1946. I found in an overwhelming number of cases that the teacher himself was unaware that there was such an Act. Indeed, of the History teachers questioned, only four seemed to have any knowledge of the Act, whereas thirty-one expressed none. In the Government and Problems classes, only two answered affirmatively that they did discuss the Act in their classes, whereas thirty-three said they did not. Most teachers assumed that what I meant by this question was government spending for military purposes, and since Los Angeles County does receive a large fraction of the military budget of the United States government, certainly many of the students of these teachers are intimately aware of these programs since their fathers may well work for companies who have contracts with the government. The teachers expressed the opinion that the students have generally a very favorable attitude toward defense industries and understand completely the government's role in supporting these industries; however, this does not carry over into other domestic responsibilities of the government. In fact, there seems to be considerable discussion of the high cost of government as it relates to the domestic economy. Teachers think that the students are concerned about the growth of the national debt, about high taxes, about the cost of supporting any kind of domestic public works projects, and that they are generally opposed to this spending. However, the teachers admit that student thinking is extremely hazy on what the government does in the way of creating jobs. They, like the general public, accept headlines and slogans concerning "War on Poverty" or "Job Retraining" without thinking very much about where the money comes from, or to what extent the services are rendered.

Like much of the textbook treatment, discussions on *Strikes, Picketing, Boycotts, and Lockouts,* covered by question No. 12, seem to get a rather heavy emphasis. The interviewer was directed to try to ascertain the attitude toward public employees and their rights as workers and union members; also, if there was any treatment of the Boston Police Strike of 1919, and if so, what treatment. We discovered that very few teachers discuss this particular strike at all; those who do discuss it give it only minimal coverage and purely in the context of the post-World War I labor problems. I had thought that teachers would be especially interested in this point, since there is now a concerted drive on the part of the American Federation of Teachers to organize in Los Angeles County, and a drive for a collective bargaining election by Local 1021 of the AFT in the Los Angeles City School System.

The question on strikes, picketing, etc., seems to be used by many teachers as a dramatic device to catch the attention of their students. Several of the teachers said that their students find strikes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries very exciting, and that they are most interested in them. This interest seems to be of the same kind that leads young people to watch television programs and go to movies to see violence and lots of action. Strikes are obviously much more exciting to the students than are detailed discussions of collective bargaining procedures.

Since so few teachers marked the topic *High Productivity of American Workers* as being ordinarily discussed in their classes, the corresponding interviewer's check sheet question, No. 13, failed to add more information. Evidently, the topic may arise but is not usually explored at any length or to any depth.

An unusually large number of the teachers said that their students were very interested and concerned about interview question No. 14, *Job Dislocation because of Automation.* This concern may be the result of the considerable publicity recently given to this facet of automation by popular magazines, or specifically by a rather long article in the *Student Scholastic,* the periodical taken by many of the schools visited. On this point, many of these same teachers admitted that they personally were quite ignorant of automation and of what it might imply for job dislocation. I posed this question: "Are the students aware that automation may well dislocate people who are employed in middle-management positions as readily as those engaged in production or services—that, in fact, a row of computers may be far more efficient than a row of vice-presidents in making production and inventory decisions?" The teachers seemed surprised by this concept, indicating to me that they probably had not discussed this particular part of the problem with their students, many of whom certainly intend to go to college and into semi-managerial positions hoping to avoid the automation problem.

I asked most of the teachers for their opinion concerning the realism with which their students faced economic uncertainties. The overwhelming majority answered that their students were very unrealistic—in fact, unrealistic about the world in general. However, a goodly number who taught students of lower abilities said that these students were noticeably more realistic, and that they realized that things were going to be difficult and possibly much harder on the outside than they had been recently, or were now, because of automation. One teacher said he suggests to his students that they should consider jobs in recreation departments, assuming that in the future recreation, or leisure time activities, will be a major industry, and that his students should prepare for jobs which would not be so easily automated out of existence. It is heartening to find that some students and teachers are interested in this complex problem, and regrettable that more information is not available to them.

The last interview question under consideration, that of *Job Security versus Featherbedding,* is admittedly a loaded question. Here I was looking for teachers' attitudes towards these terms, and what they thought their students' attitudes were. During the 1964 election, which included on the ballot Proposition 17 pertaining to "featherbedding" in the railroad industry in California, mock elections were held in most U.S. Government classes in the high schools. In some of these elections, Proposition 17 was included along with, of course, the national candidacies. In almost all instances, the teachers stated that the students overwhelmingly passed Proposition 17, indicating their hostility to "featherbedding." The use of the term "featherbedding" is, of course, a stroke of genius. The concept of job security, however, is a much more cumbersome and questionable one. Students are aware of the term "security" and, in fact, seem to be searching for this very thing more than for any other. However, they seem to be shocked, and in some cases infuriated, that men will insist upon keeping their investment in well-paying jobs with the same tenacity as management will insist upon keeping its investment in profitable properties.

In questioning the teachers, I asked if they discussed with their students "featherbedding" in any other than the popularly known occupations, such as that of the railroad firemen. I asked, for example, did they consider the ranks of management where some economists believe there is proportionately as much, if not more "featherbedding" than among production workers. Again, this concept usually brought a rather blank expression to the face of the teacher, as if this subject had never occurred to him, leading me to believe that the students seldom think of it either.

I phrased another question in terms of the realism or lack of realism on the part of the students regarding the world of work waiting for them outside the high school. Most teachers indicated that their students were most unrealistic in terms of the money they would be making. Most, they said, felt that their fathers' income would be roughly what they would get when they first began their work experience—not considering the fact that their fathers may have a great amount of seniority built up on the job and may, in fact, be at the top of the pay scale rather than the middle, and certainly not at the bottom. Students also seem to have a notable lack of understanding of how much it actually costs to provide the necessaries of the middle-class life. They think in terms of $2.00 an hour, teachers tell me, as being a marvelous wage and that, if they lose one job, they certainly will get another one. One teacher said that the students talk about the school drop-out who got a job rather than the school drop-out who did not get one. This would seem to be rather dangerous wishful thinking on the part of the students.[4]

One of the most surprising things I found in interviewing teachers was that there were so few surprises. Teachers seem to be "just people" first and teachers second. They are not, as a group, unusual people either in intelligence or point of view. Much has been written about the intellect, or lack of it, found in teachers. Those people who take their work in "Education" are known to measure only slightly above the general populace in native intelligence, but, at the same time, well below that of college graduates in the academic disciplines.[5] Those who major in History or Government are usually brighter than the Education majors, but still below those who choose to do their work in physics, chemistry, or engineering. Briefly, the people I talked to were usually just slightly smarter than the average layman.

This is not to say, categorically, that this should make the person incapable of teaching effectively. There is, in fact, much disagreement among the experts as to whether or not this state of affairs is a desirable one. Margaret Stroh, in *Find Your Own Frontier,* says: "A teacher . . . need not be graduated cum laude, nor does his intelligence have to rank at the very top levels. Actually there is a good deal of evidence to support the theory that the most successful teachers are found frequently among people who possess only a little better than average mentality."[6] Robert W. Ritchie, in *Planning for Teaching,* says, ". . . there are teachers who have no more than average intelligence and who have had great difficulty with the particular subject area, but who are highly successful especially with slower pupils because they have more sympathetic understanding for the kind of problems such youngsters usually meet."[7]

Paul Woodring, in his book *A Fourth of a Nation,* demurs: "There is little danger that a country that needs a million teachers and which pays them much less than members of other professions will have teachers who are 'too intelligent.' There is a great deal of danger that it will have many teachers who are not intelligent enough."[8] Martin Mayer, in *The Schools,* agrees; he says, "There are a million and a quarter classroom teachers, and by the normal curve of distribution most of them are not especially talented."[9]

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[4] Denis F. Johnston, "Educational Attainment of Workers, March 1964," *Monthly Labor Review,* May 1965.

[5] Myron Lieberman, *Education as a Profession* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1956), p. 229.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 232.

[7] *Ibid.,* pp. 232–33.

Presumably, one thing that might compensate for lack of superior intelligence would be superior education. Again, there seems to be great debate on this point, and much of it is rather acrimonious. Martin Mayer, in *The Schools,* discusses the controversy which exists on almost every university campus between the School of Education and the schools of the academic disciplines. After admitting that there are some good professors of Education, naming among others Evan Keislar of UCLA, Mayer says: "On the average, however, it is true to say that the academic professors, with many exceptions in the applied sciences and some in the social sciences, are educated men, and the professors of education are not."[10] Dr. Max Rafferty, in *Suffer, Little Children,* characteristically goes further and says, "It can be seriously said that anyone above the moron level who possesses sufficient time, money, and perseverance can get a master's degree in education from any institution in the land that offers it."[11]

I also discovered during the interviews that a sizable number of teachers of History and Problems courses in the high schools had been physical education majors in college, and were actually coaches who teach a few academic courses during the off-season of their particular sport. Unfortunately, physical education majors rank even lower than education majors on intelligence tests—indeed, almost at the bottom of the scale.[12] Granted, too much may already have been made of this stereotypical semiliterate mesomorph, who somehow secured an academic minor in history, and who spends his three hours in the classroom relating anecdotes about last Friday night's big game, while secretly (and sometimes not too secretly) dreaming of the day when he will move into the administration. Professor Baxter's group, in its Indiana project, concluded that, nationally, the physical education major is not as great a threat to academia as appears to be popularly believed.[13] Also, the exception to the stereotype may further damage its use. Certainly, all of us have sat in classrooms of either thin or paunchy teachers who were in no way physical education majors, but who, for some other reason, took up the class time chortling over that same big game. Conversely, one of the best teachers I interviewed during the whole project happened also to be the football coach. A man's muscular structure which may impel him into athletics in college, and into a "P.E." major, does not necessarily mean that he is an anthropoid in the nicer academic subjects. I personally do not believe that the coach who teaches is nearly as dangerous to academic excellence as is the coach who becomes the principal and is thereby in the position of policy making, and even more important, of hiring and firing teachers. There is some evidence to indicate that the apparent desirability for teachers who are of mediocre intellect comes from administrators who are similarly endowed. Paul Woodring, in *A Fourth of a Nation,* relates, having looked up the college records of some of the principals who reported to prefer teachers of mediocre scholarship, that, "without exception they are individuals whose own college records give evidence of mediocre intelligence, poor scholarship, or both."[14] However, the fact remains that many honest and, perhaps, talented members of faculties believe that the coaches downgrade the quality of their departments. One department head, when I asked why I had met only four members of his department, snorted, "There is no reason for you to interview those damned P.E. people. They wouldn't know what you were talking about!"

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[8] Paul Woodring, *A Fourth of a Nation* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1957), pp. 233–234.

[9] Martin Mayer, *The Schools* (New York: Harper, 1961), p. 384.

[10] *Ibid.,* p. 416.

[11] Max Rafferty, *Suffer, Little Children* (New York: Devin-Adair Co., 1962), p. 37.

[12] Lieberman, *op. cit.,* p. 229.

[13] Maurice G. Baxter, et al., *The Teaching of American History in High Schools* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1964), pp. 18–19.

Another factor which may detrimentally affect the quality of teaching is the high mobility of teachers in and out of the profession. There is undoubtedly no other profession which the practitioners so readily give up to move on to something else. In the Los Angeles City School System, approximately one-third of the social studies teachers are non-tenured, which means that they have been teaching in the System fewer than three years.

Of course, when one says "teachers" one means both male and female, and as the French pointed out a long time ago, there is a difference. Lieberman discusses a study in which single women teachers, married women teachers and married men teachers were asked the following question: "What would you most like to be doing ten years from now?" Roughly 75 percent of the single and married women teachers under thirty years of age expressed their desire to be housewives ten years later. For those above thirty years of age, the number of women desiring to marry and leave teaching decreased slightly. But the number of men teachers who wished to leave the profession never exceeded 25 percent of the total at any age level.[15] Obviously, many women teachers still think of the teaching credential as an insurance policy against spinsterhood or widowhood.

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[14] Woodring, *op. cit.,* p. 235.

[15] Lieberman, *op. cit.,* p. 252.

Even dislike for his job, or at least dislike for certain especially troublesome aspects, does not necessarily mean that the man or woman is a poor teacher. Several studies have concluded that the most dissatisfied teacher also seems to be the best, and certainly the brightest, teacher.[16] One possible reason for this is that the dissatisfied teacher may be a more idealistic fellow and, therefore, may have a higher standard of quality cut out for himself and others, work harder to achieve it, and also be more displeased with the forces which prevent him from achieving it. Still, one is always troubled, and a bit disillusioned, to interview the scowling teacher who has nothing good to say for his colleagues, his students, his school, or himself; I have met too many of that kind.

The largest number of teachers in the social studies, nationally, took their college or university work in history.[17] From some minor questioning of the teachers during interviews, I suspect that any work in economic analysis, and certainly any work specifically in industrial relations, was rather thin. Courses in economics are taken by a small minority of prospective teachers.[18] (The Los Angeles City School System attempted two years ago to require some work in economics of all applicants for social studies teaching positions. It had to drop the requirement very quickly when it disqualified far too many applicants to fill the vacancies in Los Angeles.) Courses in industrial relations are taken by even fewer. Even when prospective teachers, or those who are already teachers, do take economics in the colleges and universities, they often get a "special" course designed particularly for them, apparently because of the suspicion on the part of university economics professors that their charges could not handle a regular course.[19]

Much of the purpose of the interviews was to try to determine the teachers' own attitudes toward the subject of industrial relations, labor organizations, and social-economic security legislation—past and future. I assumed that if the teacher expressed either intense hostility or intense acceptance of these subjects, his attitude would most probably affect his teaching of them. After interviewing the teachers I am even more convinced of this point. Teachers seem to know those things, both true and false, that tend to justify their own predilections on a subject. In other words, teachers are seemingly only slightly, if at all, less prejudiced than the average man.

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[16] Joan Duncan Hughes, *An Analysis of Intergroup Attitudes and Ideologies of Public School Teachers,* unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, 1952.

[17] Baxter et al., *op. cit.,* p. 20.

[18] *Economic Education in the Schools,* a report of the National Task Force on Economic Education, September 1961, states on page 74: ". . . apparently almost half of all high school social studies teachers, and perhaps a quarter of all those teaching actual courses in economics, have not had as much as a single college course in economics."

[19] Conversation with Professor James Calderwood, University of Southern California, Economics Department.

For example, there was the assistant principal of a large, middle-class, suburban high school who boasted that her teachers ran the entire political spectrum except, "we are proud to say we have no pinks here." A Government teacher in a large and very poor high-school district said, concerning progressive taxation, "income tax is just like pouring money down a rat hole." A History teacher in a large and racially mixed school said proudly, "we have no problems here except when these outside agitators, like the NAACP, come in." A Government and American Problems teacher said of his students, "these kids from labor homes are radicals and bordering on Communists." Even these teachers' sincerely held opinions have the pronounced ring of cliché about them.

Easily the majority of teachers interviewed believed themselves to be liberal—at least on certain parts of liberal doctrine—but this does not mean that they would be so described by an objective outsider. The tenor of the times as revealed in recent national elections seem to indicate that liberalism is considerably more acceptable nationally than conservatism, but it is a liberalism rather divorced from its ancestor of the 1930's. Teachers who proclaim themselves to be liberal can now say, "Oh, sure, unions were necessary back in the nineteenth century and maybe even up into the 1930's. The industrial revolution was rough on the workingman. But now they are too big"; or, "the McClellan Committee turned up enough to convince me that there is an awful lot of racketeering in labor unions. That Jimmy Hoffa is a crook and ought to be put in jail." A few liberal teachers also remarked on the decline of crusading idealism in labor unions and expressed the belief that they had become just as bureaucratic, and just as monetarily oriented, as big business.[20] "What the hell!" one FDR liberal exclaimed, "why should I blow the horn for unions? The big shots are always running off to Miami and throwing the dues money around at conventions." So just as the name and reputation of Teamster President James Hoffa is certainly the most prominent to the ordinary citizen, so it is to that citizen's school teacher.

Both liberals and conservatives are probably competent to teach their subject, if given the opportunity or the incentive to do so. Research has indicated that the liberal teacher tends to be a bit more intelligent, a bit better trained, a bit more tolerant of young students' foibles, and a bit more outgoing.[21] But still, the conservative teacher is certainly able to teach labor subjects. It is probably natural that these teachers would give a bit more emphasis to the contributions of business and, "let labor fall into its proper place as an adjunct to business success." There need be no quarel with the teacher who proclaims the virtues of the American businessman, or the historical achievements of the free enterprise system, or the magnificent productive capacity of that system. But, most assuredly a complaint is valid if that teacher neglects to give labor its due, and government its due, and leaves the student with the notion that somehow all the bountiful wonder of this country occurred with nobody getting his hands dirty or even occasionally his knuckles cracked.

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[20] Robert E. Doherty, *Teaching Industrial Relations in High Schools: A Survey* (New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1964). Professor Doherty also remarks, on page 80, having found this particular frame of mind often expressed among liberal teachers.

Teachers, like their fellow citizens, are prestige conscious. Most of them, again like most of us, have come up a bit from their backgrounds. Most teachers come from what is described as the lower middle, or the upper lower, classes. They are the sons and daughters of farmers, workers, tradesmen, and small entrepreneurs.[22] And they have entered what they almost passionately call "the Profession." Some scholars have been rather critical of the pretenses of teachers or educators (the word "educator" seems to be reserved almost totally for administrators and professors of education) to professionalism when they steadfastly refuse to consider the prime requisites for really achieving that status. It seems to many who closely observe the teaching profession that it associates professionalism largely with having escaped the blue-collar occupations and whatever evil these connote for the teacher, and having arrived finally in the middle class. The word "union," or even "federation," has a marked ring of unprofessionalism, and thereby inferiority, to what they regard as proper for their calling. This has been the case since around 1918 and 1919, when for a time the *American Federation of Teachers* was larger than the *National Education Association,* which most teachers now call their "professional" association. During those years NEA spokesmen, including large numbers of school administrators and professors of education, toured the country denouncing the growth of the AFT and calling upon teachers to resist organization in anything associated with the trade-union movement. Many teachers from that time to the present have continued to associate unionism with jobs of a status lower than they believe they have.

The rather rapid growth of the AFT in recent years has aroused much of the same criticism that was current in the earlier period of conflict between the two teachers' organizations, and perhaps has heightened emotions on both sides. The AFT insists that the NEA and its affiliates are "company unions," because they accept nonteaching administrators as members, and because they show a remarkable tendency to elect these people to positions of leadership in the association. Administrators and association people just as roundly denounce the union. Dr. Max Rafferty, State Superintendent of Education in California, declares with fury and sorrow in *Suffer, Little Children:* "Education is becoming less and less a profession and more and more an occupation. The recent rise of trade unionism among our teachers is no coincidence. Unless the trend is reversed, sometime within the next generation teaching will be equated with skilled labor. We are replacing the zealous shock troops with the sluggish mercenaries."[23] I am of the opinion that teachers who are partisans to either faction cannot help but allow their convictions to color their teaching of labor subjects.[24]

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[21] Hughes, *op. cit.*

See also David G. Ryans, *Characteristics of Teachers* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1960), p. 82.

[22] Lieberman, *op. cit.,* p. 466.

The rather intense association of teachers with middle-class respectability probably also has an effect on parts of this subject. Earl S. Johnson says, "It has been remarked that the chief difficulty the middle-class oriented teacher encounters is a tendency to try to enforce middle-class standards of behavior on everyone else. It is a true but regrettable fact that some teachers (with an exaggerated middle-class loyalty) react toward lower-class students as if they had been taught middle-class standards, understood them fully, and then willfully rejected them or transgressed against them."[25] This unwillingness on the part of the teacher to associate his position with the blue-collar and tradesman class, when in fact the incomes are comparable, cannot but be reflected in the lack of classroom time devoted to the economic and social concerns of the lower class.[26]

In some of the schools visited during this study, there is a rapid racial transition in progress. Too often the conversation turned to the teachers' reminiscing about the good old days, "when the students were better." One elderly lady, who has taught twenty-five years in a high school which now has a largely Negro student body, expressed her anger thusly: "I see these big black colored men laying around and not working and it makes me mad."

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[23] Rafferty, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–36.

[24] Professor Doherty, in his study at Cornell, *op. cit.*, believes that membership in the AFT has little or no effect on the way the teacher handles the subject of trade unionism in his courses. I disagree with Professor Doherty in this matter, but only to a limited degree. As he says, "Objectivity ranks higher even than scholarship in the canon of social studies instructions." (p. 12) I am not discussing the *concept* of objectivity as it may be expressed by the teacher. I grant, he will attempt to be objective most of the time. I am talking about whether or not he actually *achieves* this oft-exalted state.

[25] Earl S. Johnson, *Theory and Practice of the Social Studies* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1956), p. 16.

[26] Dr. James B. Conant has written eloquently on this subject in his book, *Slums and Suburbs* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961).

There is no intention here to attack, with no qualification, the middle class and its particular ethic. Certainly most people prefer cleanliness to filth, honesty to cheating, discussion to disturbance, and orderly suburban homes to slums. The middle class may well be the greatest contribution of western civilization to economic and social well-being. But if the textbooks give it their emphasis, and the teachers give it theirs, what is to be the response of the well over one-third of students nationally, for whom the values of this praised class are subjects of only the most remote academic knowledge (in my own study area, because of economic and racial segregation, some whole schools fall into the lower-class category; in other high schools the lower class is not represented). They are not members of that class, and unless some things are changed rather drastically, they will not become members. As Professor Lieberman says, "Students are taught the ideals as glittering generalities. They are seldom required or encouraged to examine our social institutions to see whether these institutions do in fact contribute to the ideals. To teach that one of the basic tenets of democracy is equality of opportunity, and then fail to examine our political, economic, educational, and legal institutions to see whether they are fulfilling this objective, is largely a waste of time."[27]

There has long been an aura of failure, or even of pity, about the teacher. It was apparently Bernard Shaw who said "those who can, do, those who can't, teach." (To which one cynical teacher added, "and those who can't teach, teach teachers, and those who can't teach teachers, become administrators.") Certainly one who talks to a number of teachers can easily build a chamber of horrors. There is the tired, dispirited old man, waiting impatiently for retirement, bitter because his students fail to appreciate him.[28] There is the frustrated mouse of a man who didn't wish to talk with me. He finally did, only after his department chairman asked him point blank, and then only in whispers, because, he explains, "I don't have tenure." The dapper department chairman, who speaks only in clichés, and says that, "military-wise, the students understand government spending, but not this socialism." The mundane conversation that one can overhear in the faculty lounges—two ladies discussing the question of when a divorcée should stop wearing her wedding ring, and the answer, "when she gets ready to have an affair"; two other ladies offering mutual recrimination against what appear to be their derelict ex-husbands for failure to pay alimony; another lady saying, as she removes her sharp toed shoes, "Oh how I wish round toed shoes would come back in style." The oft' heard exultant proclamations, as a teacher enters for his cup of coffee, as to how he put down that student who was giving him all that trouble. It almost appears that each classroom becomes an arena for a battle of wills between the teacher and his less favored students.

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[27] Lieberman, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[28] Hughes, *op. cit.* There is evidence to indicate that students prefer younger teachers, and also that older teachers are indeed less learned, less tolerant, less liberal, more religious, and more authoritarian.

But for all that, there is a hopeful number of splendid professional men and women, who go every day to face two-hundred students, increasingly large numbers of administrators, occasionally irate parents ("they are your kids, but they are my students!"), who try to impart knowledge, concern, ideas, or as one of the best teachers described it "a sense of identity in a world of varying cultures, so that they will have the tools to solve whatever problems may confront them." These teachers, whom I and my assistants judged to be the very best, were almost invariably the ones who admitted quite frankly that neither they nor their colleagues were doing the job that they should be doing. ("If these guys told you the truth they would answer 'no' to three-fourths of your questions.") They sometimes admitted great ignorance of labor and social-economic legislation, asked for copies of the questionnaires as an addendum to their lesson plans, and pled for more material from the universities, the institutes of industrial relations, the unions, and the government. Then, after making such admissions, they occasionally pulled from their desks students' papers which would do honor to a UCLA undergraduate. There is work going on out there, better work, I suspect, than was going on ten years ago, or fifty years ago, or whatever golden age the educational reactionaries wish to return to. Much is left to be done, most assuredly in the subjects under discussion, but then maybe it is not being done now because nobody has asked the teachers to do it before.

Part III

THE STUDENTS

The vision of a high school campus during the lunch period, or a stroll down a crowded hall between classes, can be slightly nerve-racking.

In the first place the students are beautiful. They are healthy, twitching, giggling, bursting with barely controlled energy. The hair of both boys and girls is an appalling hodgepodge of ill-digested copy from adult commercial fashion magazines. (Teen-agers spend over nine million dollars per year on home permanents, presumably mostly the girls.[1]) Paints of varying textures and thicknesses are applied to the eyes and mouth with what could well be a trowel, and the clothing which can barely contain the swelling young bodies is certainly not conducive to monastic contemplation.

But these observations do not prepare one for the epithets which some teachers reserve for students: "Creeps," "Boneheads," "Damned vegetables." One professed liberal summed them up with, "They are Fascists."[2] Unfortunately, I did not solicit any choice rejoinders from the students concerning their teachers. But I suspect that the students at whom the above barbs are aimed, would be able to retaliate in kind.

Even when the teacher interviewed refrained from using these harsher descriptions of his students, my assistants and I frequently got the impression that the teacher felt it was really impossible to get his students interested in labor subjects. Repeatedly came the answer, "they are only capable of learning this in the most general way," or, "they are simply not interested in unions because none of them plans to work in a union situation. They plan to go to college." One teacher said, "I have 190 students and I can say that not five of them would voluntarily read a book or write a paper on any of these subjects." And over and over came the response, "they are utterly unrealistic about the economy and their place in it." Another teacher pointed out the window to the school quad, where mild rock and roll music (or whatever the current name for it is) played constantly, and said: "Look at them. Jesus! A bunch of sheep. They're happy, they're grazing, they don't give a damn about your economic problems, your unions."

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[1] Jessie Bernard, "Teen-age Culture: An Overview," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 338 (1961), 3.

[2] Dr. Max Rafferty, with his usual penchant for purple prose, describes what he calls the "triumphant Slob," in *Suffer, Little Children* (New York: Devin-Adair Co., 1962), pp. 59-60.

Much has been written about what has come to be called "the teen-age subculture" as if it were really a thing apart from the traditional American civilization. One researcher, who did an analysis of letters from teen-agers to a vast new crop of teen-age magazines and the editors' responses to these letters, says, "The major problems of readers are shyness, weight, and skin condition. The major preoccupation is with relations with the other sex."[3]

David Matza has even broken down the subculture into "subterranean" traditions and identified three directions they usually take—delinquency, radicalism, and Bohemianism. The delinquent "is guided by a celebration of prowess, manifests a spirit of adventure, disdain of work, and aggression." The radical "is guided by an apocalyptic vision, populism, and evangelism" by way of "unconventional definitions of politics. The Bohemian tradition, and beat, its modern manifestation, are committed to romanticism, expressive authenticity, and monasticism." It usually takes the form of "unconventional art and unconventional personal experience."[4] I wouldn't be surprised if a goodly number of the middle-class teachers' "creeps" and "slobs" don't fall into one or more of these categories.

Other research into teen-age life concludes that, although there is an understandable concentration by teen-agers on themselves and their intimate problems of growing up, they almost exactly reflect their parents' opinions on major issues, including economics. For example, the Remmers group at Purdue was able to predict the outcome of the last three national elections to within .1 percent by asking the teen-agers how they would vote if they could vote.[5] I collected a modest sample of "mock election" returns from some of the teachers interviewed. Even on explosive issues like fair housing laws (Proposition 14) did the students indeed mirror the actual vote of their communities as found in the record compiled by County Registrar of Voters Ben Hite.[6]

In another study by the Remmers group, conducted some years ago, an attitudinal test on labor unions was given to a group of high school students. Immediately afterwards, they were given pro-labor articles to read and then again tested on their attitudes to see if the reading of the material had had any effect on these attitudes. The conclusion was that it did have a significant and immediate effect. The attitudinal test was repeated about six months later, and it was discovered that the change in attitudes had almost entirely disappeared. The basic attitudes of the students had returned to the time before they had read the material about labor unions.[7]

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[3] Charles H. Brown, "Self-Portrait: The Teen-Type Magazine," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 338 (1961), 13.

[4] David Matza, "Subterranean Traditions of Youth," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 338 (1961), 102.

[5] Bernard, *op. cit.,* pp. 7–8.

[6] Record compiled by Registrar of Voters Ben Hite.

If this was the case, could it mean that work done in school has no effect on the way the teen-ager actually thinks and feels about major issues? And that the teacher himself has no impact? Martin Mayer says in *The Schools:* "It is more than doubtful that the schools can successfully teach values other than those of the child's home, or those of the larger community."[8] Professor Doherty found in his study at Cornell: "Almost any social studies teacher . . . will readily confess to his total failure to get high school students to change their minds about anything."[9] In my own estimation, the majority of teachers interviewed would agree with this statement.

However, some of the best teachers I met disagreed. "Of course you can't effectively change the students' minds unless you're an effective teacher. You can't do it by being afraid to get beyond the thirteenth century. You have to start with Selma, Alabama, and you quickly work back to the Calhoun-Webster debate of 1850. You bring the students into the problem. You make them see that it affects people. The teacher has got to have passion, emotion, guts." This teacher would undoubtedly agree with Henry Adams' famous observation, "A teacher affects eternity; he can never tell when his influence stops."

Another charge, made especially by liberal teachers, is that the students are complacent, smug, self-satisfied, that they are not interested in change, that they are dangerously illiberal. The Remmers study at Purdue indicates that this may indeed be the case. More than fifty percent of the students and teen-agers in America believe that most people in the United States simply are not capable of deciding for themselves what is right and what is wrong. Eighty-three percent of today's young people would have the FBI or local police use wire tapping on telephones. Sixty percent would have authorities censor books, magazines, newspapers, and television. Fifty-eight percent see nothing wrong with the use of the "third degree" by police officers. These particular items seem pertinent, since all of them are either explicitly or implicitly forbidden by the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution.[10] Forty-two percent think that the people of the United States should resist firmly any attempt to change in any way the American way of life. Sixty-one precent favor cities passing laws prohibiting the sale or printing of any communist literature.[11]

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[7] Wilbur Hall, "The Effect of Defined Social Stimulus Material upon the Stability of Attitudes Towards Labor Unions, Capital Punishment, Social Insurance and Negroes," in *Further Studies in Attitudes, Series III, Studies in Higher Education* (Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University, 1938).

[8] Martin Mayer, *The Schools* (New York: Harper, 1961), p. 344.

[9] Robert E. Doherty, *Teaching Industrial Relations in High Schools: A Survey* (New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1964), p. 69.

[10] H. H. Remmers and D. H. Radler, *The American Teenager* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957), pp. 15-17.

On a test with items scaled to determine the extent of authoritarianism, here are two statements: "Most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched, in secret, by others." The "yes" return was 88 percent. "Obedience and a proper respect for authority should be the very first requirement of a good citizen." The "yes" answer, 87 percent.[12]

On the question of whether the students are seriously religious and thereby given to distrust secular solutions, the Remmers study has some interesting data. Sixty-eight percent of Catholic and 64 percent of Protestant teen-agers do not accept the scientific doctrine of evolution. Eighty-eight percent of the Catholics and 84 percent of the Protestants answered affirmatively to the statement, "God knows our every fault and movement." The figure was almost the same concerning the statement, "God controls everything that happens everywhere."[13] The Remmers group found that the teen-agers who exhibited the strongest religious faith were also the ones who scored highest on authoritarian responses to questions. Joan Hughes, in her study of teachers' attitudes, found the same to be true of teachers. There seems to be a positive correlation between religious faith and illiberalism.

And again, one of the most interesting and perhaps frightening findings of the Remmers study was that the taking of Civics or Government courses seemed to have little or no effect on the answers the young people gave. In fact, those who had taken Civics courses tended to be a little more totalitarian-minded than those who had not had such courses.[14]

Another Purdue University opinion poll in 1960, concerning young people's attitudes toward industrial relations *per se,* revealed not only a shattering lack of knowledge but also a great deal of opposition to labor and labor's role. Fifty-four percent of this group believed that union power in the United States is too great.[15]

The American teen-agers spend a very large amount of money and consume a considerable portion of the gross national product. Yet there is a good deal of evidence which indicates they have little knowledge of the cost of items and services they will be called upon to provide for themselves as adults. On a poll taken to determine what teen-agers thought about the future—their future, specifically—and what they wanted, interesting answers came back. "I would like an eight room two-story Colonial home: living room, dining room, kitchen, den and bath downstairs, master bedroom, guest room, two other bedrooms and bath upstairs. I would like the house to be white with a large front porch with four large white columns. I would like a drive that makes a semicircle and I would like to live in the country. I would like a typically Colonial living room with an enormous fireplace. . . ."[16] And yet, according to counselors I interviewed, many of these same young people believe that two dollars per hour is very good money. Counselors also disclosed that some of their interviewees had no idea how much their fathers earned or even what they did to earn it.

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[11] H. H. Remmers, *Anti-democratic Attitudes in American Schools* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1963), p. 64.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

[13] Remmers and Radler, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 193.

[15] *Youth's Attitudes Toward Industrial Relations,* Purdue University Opinion Poll 59, Purdue University, Division of Educational Reference (Lafayette, Indiana: June 1960), p. 3.

The job that the teen-ager values, and the one that he thinks he is going to have, also seems to reflect a bit of unrealistic thinking. H. Kirk Dansereau in his *Work and the Teenager* has found that teen-agers believe white-collar work is definitely superior to blue-collar work. They also wish to have clean occupations. These findings seem to be reinforced by the National Opinion Research Center's publication *Jobs and Occupations,* a popular evaluation in which a rating system of most desirable jobs was presented. (The highest-ranking job on the overall score was United States Supreme Court Justice.) On this rating list "electrician" ranked 44th in order and was the first "workingman's" job. (Official of an International Labor Union ranked 40th.)

The recently released findings of Dr. Henry Chauncey of the Educational Testing Service reveal that roughly 25 percent of all high school graduates entering college have ambitions for a professional career in such fields as medicine and engineering. Another 25 percent expect to become teachers or professors.[17] This same figure of roughly 50 percent is also arrived at in the Remmers study of the American teen-ager who looks forward to professional or technical positions.

There is, of course, much dispute as to whether or not automation and technological improvement of production will change the nature of work and release many more people from drudgery-laden jobs. But, there is no doubt that it is going to be very difficult to place 50 percent of those among the twenty-six million young people who will have come of age and entered the labor force between 1960 and 1970 in these exalted professional positions. Presently around 10 or 11 percent of the total jobs lie in these particular fields, which means that perhaps four-fifths of these young people, who have ambitions for the professions, may well be disappointed.

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[16] Grace and Fred M. Hechinger, *Teen-age Tyranny* (New York: Morrow, 1963), p. 212.

[17] Los Angeles *Times,* February 21, 1965.

But is this supposed illiberalism and unrealism a unique teen-age or student problem? I think not. Are they more unrealistic, for example, than those adults among the approximately one thousand persons per day who make their way into the Southern California area apparently expecting to find jobs, and not only menial jobs but well-paying, self-improving jobs? Are the 54 percent of American teen-agers who believe that labor-union power in the United States is too great (Purdue Opinion Panel "Youth's Attitudes Toward Industrial Relations") different from the 57 percent of their social studies teachers who also believed that labor unions are growing too large and powerful for the welfare of the country?[18] Is the student being unusually unrealistic in his aspirations for a clean, secure, and "professional" vocation, when his omnipresent teacher has just such a job? Can the student be expected to grapple with the complexities of "job security," when his teacher seemingly fails to recognize his own tenure laws as just such a protection? Is the student exhibiting unique hostility to "featherbedding" in his mock elections? His teacher seems to feel the same way; and at the same time, he applauds his own organizations in their defense against the introduction of electronic video tape which might lessen the necessity of live classroom presence.

Teachers call students bad names. They decry their misdirected ambitions, their unrealistic plans for the future. They say the students don't care about the economy and labor's role in it and cannot be taught anything about it. But where does the responsibility finally rest to see that the student is realistically informed? We have seen that as the parent votes, so does the student, even in a "mock election." And we have suggested that the teacher represents the status quo thinking of the community. With these two major influences on the student in complete agreement, we cannot, in fairness, find the student guilty of unrealism and illiberalism, but, perhaps, a victim of these trends.

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[18] Doherty, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

Conclusions

I began this study with an observation and a question. The observation was that the overwhelming majority of non-college bound high school graduates become, within the first year after graduation, members of the work force—drawing their livelihoods from somebody's employ. The question asked what these young people are taught about what it means to be an employee. The students are primarily the progeny of middle-class parents; and as a result of a generation of relative affluence (and, of course, of child labor laws brought about largely by labor's insistent pricking of the legislative conscience), they have had, at most, only a vicarious acquaintance with the actual workings of the economy. What they know of labor, social legislation, and the government's increasing participation in that economy has, I assumed, most likely come from newspapers, family conversation, friends' wonderings, and, presumably, the schools of their neighborhoods. I chose to investigate the last of these sources, using analyses, interviews and questions, and perhaps even some speculation.

The U.S. History, U.S. Government, and American Problems textbooks now in use in high schools in the county of Los Angeles are extremely varied in title but remarkably similar in format and content. They are glossy, attractive, colorful, simple to read, and almost totally lacking in anything that could offend, or excite, the white, middle-class youngster who may read them. As in the old-fashioned romantic novel, the forces of light and of darkness are pitted against each other, but only in the dim past of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In those distant times, these books admit, tempers flared and violence erupted, but by the powerful and persuasive (and almost totally mysterious) workings of superior American statesmanship on both sides of any possible controversy, and by an overwhelming faith in law and order, the crises passed and the millennium approached. About the only stain remaining on this otherwise immaculate image is the problem of getting big business and big labor to understand that they must now work together as a team in the public interest. And this problem is surely solvable by the impartial intervention of the national government to act as arbiter—without, of course, disturbing the free enterprise system, or the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively. Poverty has been largely eliminated by the superior productivity of the American economy, and the accumulation of great fortunes is prevented by the levying of 92 percent taxes on high incomes. No foreign ideology has ever succeeded in seducing the American from his devotion to private enterprise, individual initiative, and personal responsibility, and the power and wealth of America today is positive proof of the superiority of these convictions.

Not a single labor topic, except industrial vs. craft unions, was adequately described or explained in the majority of the textbooks. Not a single U.S. History text did more than mention the political activities of unions, both historically and presently—despite the fact that the very educational institution the student now occupies is, at least in part, a result of such activities. Only two history texts went beyond mentioning the all important labor-management practice of free collective bargaining. None told the student about the public employment service, a service he will most likely have need of shortly after graduation. None told him of disability insurance. None made a case for public assistance programs.

By a perusal of today's textbooks, few students will be diverted from the "great man" theory of history. George Washington launched the nation, Madison was the "father of the constitution," Jackson gave the masses the right to vote, Lincoln freed the slaves, F.D.R. saved the nation during the Depression, and, if you please, Samuel Gompers created the American labor movement. The history of the nation is portrayed as the work of earlier-day Matt Dillons and men from U.N.C.L.E., who single-handedly stood against hosts of wrong and, naturally, triumphed. There is little to indicate that collective action or mass pressure may often have forced the "great man" to act in the manner now considered great to keep his elected office. And there is most certainly very little which will apprise the student of the techniques employees have historically used to become members of the middle class, a class to which most high school students seem to aspire.

The teacher of the social studies, who works from these textbooks, is himself a highly mobile product of the lower middle class who has achieved middle-class comfort and laid claim to professional status. He has done the first by hard work at more than one job and the second by presumption. His formal education in industrial relations is almost nonexistent, and he regards any acquaintance with labor unions as vaguely damaging to his image. He sees himself as mildly liberal but associates the concept with Jefferson rather than with Walter Reuther. His teen-aged charges often baffle and enrage him. He despairs of breaking through their peculiar adolescent barriers and their comfortable complaisance. He has little faith in himself, and even less in his colleagues, to rouse his students to high-minded idealism. He is tired.

In summary, this study has revealed serious shortcomings in the textbooks' treatment of the labor movement and social-economic security legislation. Textbooks overgeneralize; they distort the import of labor's role in the history of the American success; they may even exaggerate that success itself in the hope of satisfying ardently patriotic boards of education; they may be too fervent in their proclamations of the middle-class ethic of accumulation and consumption. But, even so, they do contain some basic facts. The student can learn something of labor's past and even of labor's present; he can learn the details, if not the spirit, of such relatively noncontroversial subjects as the Social Security Act.

What is also most distressingly missing in the classroom is not just the basic information. It is the will to teach the subject of labor and the will to learn it. The liberal teacher, tired and sometimes even cynical, too often believes that labor has reached the "dry rot" stage, that its evangelism is gone, its earlier promise of a brighter tomorrow largely fulfilled. The conservative teacher, circumspect and sometimes even suspicious, more often believes that labor is "too big" and a dangerous threat to the economic stability of the nation. And both men are apt to believe that the presently alleged misdoings of James R. Hoffa are representative of the American labor movement today.

A large number of today's young people are undoubtedly conservative and even given to authoritarian direction, if that direction includes the security of a clean, well-paid occupation with professional status. They are unrealistic about their prospects and about the problems they will encounter. But, apart from their haircuts and their dating habits, they seem to reflect their parents' thinking almost exactly; and from a cursory perusal of polls, one gathers that the parents' thinking on the subject of labor is almost identical to the teachers'.

So, I have come full circle: from all parts of the perimeter echoes the opinion that labor is in trouble; its "image" is tarnished, its contribution misunderstood. Among those people who have been most obviously elevated by the historic successes of labor, the people who now call themselves "middle class," disillusionment and distrust seem to be hardening into apathy and hostility. The teachers, the students, and most certainly the textbook publishers are apparently mirrors of the public opinion. And the public opinion of labor today is not high.

My original observation is correct and obvious to any adult now employed and perhaps threatened by the encroaching labor force of the high school graduates. The answer to my original question, in spite of questionnaires, interviews, check lists and tally sheets, remains equivocal.

Young people are being taught, albeit with a melodramatic emphasis, what it meant to be an employee in the crafts or laboring class—up to 1935. They are not being taught, at least in their social studies classes, information which can realistically be applied, and which I deem vital, to their contemporary expectations of entering the work force.

Appendices

APPENDIX A:

EVALUATION OF 35 LABOR TOPICS AS PRESENTED IN TEXTBOOKS FOR 11TH GRADE U. S. HISTORY AND 12TH GRADE U. S. GOVERNMENT AND AMERICAN PROBLEMS COURSES*

Labor topics	18 textbooks: U. S. History						15 textbooks: U. S. Government and American Problems					
	S	M	DI	DA	EI	EA	S	M	DI	DA	EI	EA
1. Strikes and Lockouts	0	4	6	3	0	5	1	4	7	2	0	1
2. Political Activity of Unions	9	3	4	2	0	0	1	5	4	5	0	0
3. Injunctions against Unions	5	5	4	4	0	0	5	4	2	3	1	0
4. Arbitration	6	5	4	3	0	0	2	2	5	4	0	2
5. Mediation and Conciliation	11	5	2	0	0	0	2	4	6	3	0	0
6. Open Shop	11	3	4	0	0	0	5	3	3	3	0	1
7. Closed Shop	6	3	6	3	0	0	3	4	3	4	0	1
8. Union Shop	6	4	5	3	0	0	2	3	5	4	0	1
9. Company Unions	10	4	2	2	0	0	9	3	1	2	0	0
10. Industrial vs Craft Unions	2	3	3	8	2	0	3	3	1	5	0	3
11. Section 7(a) of the NIRA	6	2	2	7	0	1	3	7	2	3	0	0
12. Section 7(a) of the NLRA	1	4	4	8	1	0	1	0	6	6	1	1
13. Fair Labor Standards Act	4	2	5	6	0	1	1	1	3	5	0	5
14. Taft-Hartley Act	1	4	3	8	1	1	0	0	3	8	3	1
15. Landrum-Griffin Act	5	2	5	4	2	0	5	4	4	1	1	0
16. Management Unfair Practices	3	4	4	4	0	3	1	6	4	4	0	0
17. Labor Unfair Practices	4	4	5	5	0	0	1	6	4	4	0	0
18. Right-to-Work Laws	12	4	2	0	0	0	8	1	3	3	0	0
19. Strikes by Public Employees	10	3	3	1	1	0	5	3	3	2	2	0
20. Collective Bargaining	13	3	1	1	0	0	3	2	6	2	0	2
21. Automation	5	5	2	2	3	1	8	3	2	2	0	0
22. Social Security Act (general treatment)	2	2	5	9	0	0	0	0	2	6	0	7
23. Major Benefits under Social Security	1	4	5	6	1	1	0	0	4	5	0	6
24. Unemployment Insurance	3	5	4	5	0	1	0	3	2	6	0	4
25. Aid to the Blind	4	14	0	0	0	0	0	9	1	4	0	1
26. Aid for Dependent Children	6	12	0	0	0	0	1	8	0	4	0	2
27. Aid for the Disabled	7	11	0	0	0	0	1	9	0	3	0	2
28. Maternal and Children Services	8	10	0	0	0	0	2	7	1	4	0	1
29. Public Employment Services	13	5	0	0	0	0	3	6	2	3	0	1
30. Old-Age Assistance	12	3	0	2	0	1	1	7	1	4	1	1
31. Medicare	12	4	2	0	0	0	7	4	1	2	0	1
32. Workmen's Compensation	10	4	2	1	0	1	1	6	2	5	0	1
33. State Disability Insurance	18	0	0	0	0	0	11	4	0	0	0	0
34. Individual Income Tax	4	6	5	3	0	0	1	0	2	3	6	3
35. Corporate Income Tax	10	6	1	1	0	0	1	0	3	3	5	3

* Symbols used in evaluation:
S—silent on subject
M—mentioned, but no description or explanation
DI—described inadequately
DA—described adequately
EI—explained inadequately
EA—explained adequately

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APPENDIX B:

UNIT X—GOVERNMENT AND WELFARE

HOW SPECIAL LEGISLATION PROVIDES FOR THE NEEDY

Concepts to Be Developed:

1. One of the proper functions of government is to help in the march toward enough food and clothing, adequate shelter, good health and education for everyone.
2. The whole field of social welfare—of conserving our human resources—is a relatively new one for the government.
3. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare, created by Congress in 1953, administers most of the social welfare program of the national government.
4. Over fifty percent of the funds expended at state and local levels for social welfare is provided by grants-in-aid from the national government.

Content	Developmental activities	Resources
I. DEPT. OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, WELFARE A. The Office of Education B. Social Security Administration 1. Bureau of OAIS 2. Bureau of Public Assistance 3. Children's Bureau 4. Bureau of Federal Credit Unions C. Pure Food and Drug Administration D. Public Health Service 1. Hospitals (16) 2. Outpatient Clinics (26) 3. Outpatient Offices (98) 4. Available to: a. Seamen b. Coast Guardsmen c. Others 5. National Institutes of Health (7) 6. Bethesda Clinical Center 7. Others 8. Grants-in-Aid	Reading Assignment: Bruntz, pp. 172; 206; 108–109; 425–429; 96; 124–125 Magruder, pp. 305–315; 666–677 Report: The pure food and drug laws and their enforcement Discussion: Is it necessary for the government to maintain social welfare programs? At which governmental level should it be handled? Report: Public Assistance in Los Angeles. (Team Field Trip)	MAGAZINE ARTICLES: "How Pure is Your Food?" *U. S. News*, May 31, 1957 Pringle, Henry. "The Case for Federal Relief," *SEP*, July 19, 1952 FILM "Mental Health Services" (County 5001, 10m)
II. THE SOCIAL SECURITY PROGRAM A. 1935 Social Security Act B. Old Age and Survivors Insurance 1. Coverage 2. Financing 3. Benefits	Speaker: Social Security benefits	PAMPHLET: "Social Security and You"

C. Unemployment Insurance 1. Bureau of Employment Security (Labor Dept.) 2. State administered 3. Disability and Workman's Compensation	Speaker: County Welfare Director — "The County's Welfare Agencies"	SPECIAL REFERENCE: Bigger, Richard, *County Government in California*
D. Aid to Dependent Children E. Aid to Blind and Permanently Disabled F. Old Age Assistance G. Widows and Dependent Children H. Grants-in-Aid I. Studies of Special Problems 1. Child Welfare 2. Infant Mortality 3. Orphanages 4. Juvenile Courts J. Promotes State, Local Action	Speaker: Public Health Services at Federal and County level	BOOKS: Fey, Harold, *Indians and Other Americans*
III. PUBLIC HOUSING	Team Field Trips—Housing Project Reading Assignment: Texts: Bruntz, pp. 405–407 Magruder, pp. 674-678	
IV. THE HEALTH INSURANCE CONTROVERSY A. Current Coverage B. Private Plans C. Truman-Ewing Plan D. Eisenhower-Hobby Plan E. The Forand Bill (1959) F. Opposition of AMA G. Socialized Medicine Abroad H. Present Free Medical Care	Magruder, pp. 671-673	
V. GERIATRICS A. Housing Problems B. Early Retirement	Discussion: The problems of Old People—a Social Problem (Happiness, cultural values, remedies)	MAGAZINE ARTICLES: "The Older Worker," *Time*, Oct. 19, 1955 Schaefer, Jack, "The American Indian," *Holiday*, Feb. 1956
VI. THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION A. Services to Veterans B. Educational Benefits	Magruder, pp. 659; 672; 677 Team Field Trip: Sawtelle Hospital	FILM: "Steps of Age" (County, 25m)

APPENDIX B—*Continued*

UNIT XI—GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

Concepts to be Developed:

1. In the United States, government interferes with business only in the interests of preserving competition and guarding the interests of the consumer.
2. In a private enterprise economy, the function of regulation is to provide rules for the conduct of economic activities and the referees to interpret and enforce them. It is the function of private enterprise to direct and manage the economy within these rules.
3. The public must be vigilant that the widening authority of regulatory commissions is not abused.
4. President Eisenhower 1959 "State of the Union" message recognized a need for co-ordination between government, labor and management if the economic resources of the nation are to be efficiently utilized.

Content	Developmental activities	Resources
I. BACKGROUND A. History of Economic Development B. The Fee Enterprise System C. Business Enterprises 1. Corporations 2. Partnerships 3. Other D. Basic Needs of All Economic Groups E. Common Aims of Management, Labor F. Groups Affected by Economic Conditions G. Factors of Production H. Problems of the Employer	Bruntz, pp. 401–414; 446-453; 124; 169-171; 97; 99; 378 Magruder, pp. 688–694; 117; 137–142; 289–300 Debate: "The U. S. Should Raise its Tariff Walls" Report: Amount of government subsidies to business during the previous year.	BOOKS: Klein & Colvin, *Economic Problems of Today*, pp. 160–164; 366–368 Galbraith, Kenneth, *The Affluent Society* Nevins, Allan, *John D. Rockefeller* Mayer, Martin, *Wall Street-Men and Money* Werner, M. R., *Teapot Dome* Soule, George, *Ideas of the Great Economists* "Foreign Economic Policy for the Twentieth Century," *Rockefeller Report* Bartholomew, Paul, *Summaries of Leading Cases on the Constitution* Bennett, Harry, *We Never Called Him Henry* (Henry Ford) Holbrook, Stewart. *The Age of the Moguls* Oxenfeldt, A. P., *Economics & the Citizen* *Outside Readings in Economics*
II. HOW THE GOVERNMENT HELPS BUSINESS A. Land Grants B. Subsidies C. Protective Tariff D. Trade Agreements E. Tax on Foreign Shippers F. Inventions 1. Copyrights 2. Patents G. Research 1. Department of Labor	Discuss: "There is not a single powerful pressure group in America today which is not subsidized directly, or indirectly, by the Federal Government." Do you agree or disagree? Discuss: Why does our government engage in research activities which cost the taxpayer billions of dollars? Should Bureau of Standards research data be available to the consumer as well as the businessman?	PAMPHLETS: Lubin, Isador, "Our Stake in World Trade" (FPA)

2. Dept. of Commerce a. cost of living index b. standards of weights, c. other services		
VI. MANAGEMENT ORGANIZATIONS A. National Association of Manufacturers B. U. S. Chamber of Commerce C. Political Activity	Speaker: Dr. Claude Fawcett, Ed. Director, Western Div., NAM, UCLA School Education, "Place of Management in an Industrial Society"	
VII. U. S. BUSINESS TODAY A. Trends 1. Mergers 2. Diversification B. Automation C. Employment D. Status of Small Business E. The American Millionaire F. Fair Trade Laws G. Discount Houses	Discussion: Ownership and control of corporations	
VIII. GOVERNMENT IN BUSINESS A. Tennessee Valley Authority B. Dam Construction C. St. Lawrence Seaway	Reading Assignment: Text: Magruder, pp. 694–701 Bruntz, pp. 289; 414; 450–451; 446–449	BOOKS: Schlesinger, Arthur, *The Coming of the New Deal* (TVA section) Lilienthal, David, *TVA*

APPENDIX B—*Continued*

UNIT XII—GOVERNMENT AND LABOR

HOW GOVERNMENT PROTECTS THE EMPLOYEE

Concepts to Be Developed:

1. Congress has Constitutional power to regulate all activities in, or affecting, inter-state commerce.
2. Government has an interest and obligation in maintaining industrial peace.
3. Congress has legislated that it is a function of the national government to "foster, promote, and develop the welfare of wage earners" and "improve their working conditions and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment."
4. The cornerstone of the American system of labor-management relations is collective bargaining.
5. The right of workers to organize and bargain collectively is now recognized by all states and the national government.
6. A labor dispute can have a tremendous effect on the health and safety of the entire country.

Content	Developmental activities	Resources
I. THE WORKING MAN A. Needs of Employees B. Responsibilities of Employees	Reading Assignment Text: Bruntz, pp. 418–430; 313–314; 418; 479–481; 171–172 Magruder, pp. 300–302; 123; 678–685; 527	BOOKS: Velie, Lester, *Labor USA* Schlesinger, Arthur, *The Coming of the New Deal* Douglas, Paul, *Six Upon the World*, Chap. 4 Gould, Jean, *Sidney Hillman* Commager, Henry, *Documents of American History*, vol. 2
II. ORGANIZATION OF LABOR UNIONS A. Historical Background B. Craft Unionism C. Industrial Unionism	Speaker: Thomas Randall, Dept. of Public Relations Speakers' Bureau, AFL-CIO, "Place of Labor and Management in an Industrialized Society."	
III. LABOR LEGISLATION A. No Constitutional Provision B. Power Assumed by States 1. Control of Hours, Wages 2. State Labor Commission a. inspects factories b. enforces labor laws c. administers workmen's compensation 3. Department of Employment a. unemployment insurance 4. "Right to Work" laws C. Federal Legislation 1. Department of Labor 2. LaFollette Seaman's Act (1915) 3. Norris-La Guardia Act (1932) 4. Wagner Act (1935)	Report: List 10 state laws regulating the condition of labor in California. Discussion: The Taft-Hartley Law. Discussion: Are unions necessary. Reports: The major points in major labor laws passed by Congress. (Individual speakers)	FILMS: "Strike in Town" (County 8031, 28m)

a. National Labor Relations Board
b. Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service
5. Walsh-Healey Government Contract Act (1936)
6. Fair Labor Standards Act (1938)
7. Taft-Hartley Act (1947)
8. Current Legislation

IV. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
    A. Office of International Labor Affairs
    B. Wages and Hours and Public Contracts Division
    C. Women's Bureau
    D. Bureau of Apprenticeships
    E. Bureau of Employment Security
    F. Bureau of Labor Standards
    G. Bureau of Labor Statistics

V. INVESTIGATION AND AGREEMENTS
    A. Employer-Employee Agreements
        1. Collective bargaining
        2. Conciliation
        3. Mediation
        4. Arbitration
    B. Government Investigation
        1. Fact-finding Boards
        2. Congressional Investigation
        3. Citizen Groups

VI. ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF ORGANIZED LABOR

VII. CURRENT STATUS OF UNIONS
    A. Political Activity
    B. Voter Influence
    C. Abuses
        1. McClellan Committee Findings
    D. Public Regulation Controversy

VIII. APPENDIX
    A. Vocabulary

MAGAZINE ARTICLES:
Meany, George. "What Organized Labor Wants," *Reader's Digest*, June 1955

APPENDIX C:

Cover Letter and Questionnaire

We are engaged in a research project at the Institute of Industrial Relations, UCLA, on the treatment of basic Economic institutions and relationships in the 11th and 12th grade social studies courses. Our assumption is that after graduation from high school, a large percentage of these people will become, some time in their lives, someone's employer or employee. Our question is: what can we legitimately expect these people to have learned of what this means in terms of their responsibilities, rights, and benefits?

The first part of the project involved an analysis of the basic texts, as well as supplementary texts, pamphlet material, and audio-visual aids which are available to the teacher in the Los Angeles area for use in his classes. The second part of the study will be to try to determine the relative emphasis given and the relative time spent on these and related subjects. Only the teacher of these social studies classes has this information.

We have prepared, as you can see, a questionnaire. Based on data gained by the questionnaire, a short interview with the teacher should be conducted in order to secure further explanation of points which might be misleading from the simple checking of our pre-conceived items.

Your cooperation and assistance on this part of the study is, of course, essential to us. We are enclosing some questionnaires which we would appreciate your giving to five or six teachers of 11th grade and 12th grade Government and American Problems classes. Please give them some background on what we are doing and ask them if they will help us. You may assure the teacher that his participation is completely voluntary, that his name should not appear anywhere, that complete anonymity is assured him.

We will telephone you soon and arrange a suitable time and date to come to your school, pick up the completed questionnaire, and meet with these teachers during their conference periods for the interview.

Sincerely,
WILL SCOGGINS
Staff Researcher

Part One of Questionnaire

To assist us in our research project concerning the teaching of labor and labor-associated topics, will you please complete the following questionnaire. We assure you complete anonymity. Please do not sign this questionnaire. However, we would like the name of the course upon which you are basing your answers. Thank you.

1. Title of your basic text:
2. Title of any supplementary texts which you actually use as desk copies:
3. Title of any supplementary texts which students have in their hands for a period of time:
4. Titles of any pamphlets or periodicals which you actually use as desk copies:
5. Titles of any pamphlets or periodicals which students have in their hands for a time sufficient to read them:
6. In your class schedule, how many class hours do you spend on labor-related topics:
7. Do you ever use outside resource people? If so, whom?
8. Do your students ever do outside work of any sort on labor-related topics? If so, please specify for college-preparatory and for terminal students.

Part Two of Questionnaire

The following is a series of paired economic topics. On the line preceding each pair, indicate the topic which you emphasize more in your class, by writing the number on the line.

(If you are intrigued by the numbering system, it is to ease our problem in coding your answers.)

___ 1. The Modern Corporation	2. The Union: History and Function
___ 1. The Modern Corporation	3. Social and Economic Security Legislation
___ 1. The Modern Corporation	4. Labor-Management Relations Legislation
___ 1. The Modern Corporation	5. Federal Regulatory Agencies
___ 1. The Modern Corporation	6. Automation
___ 1. The Modern Corporation	7. Income Distribution in America
___ 1. The Modern Corporation	8. Accomplishments of American Industry
___ 1. The Modern Corporation	9. The Business Cycle
___ 1. The Modern Corporation	10. The Farm Problem—National and State
___ 2. The Union: History & Function	3. Social and Economic Security Legislation

___ 2. The Union: History & Function	4. Labor-Management Relations Legislation
___ 2. The Union: History & Function	5. Federal Regulatory Agencies
___ 2. The Union: History & Function	6. Automation
___ 2. The Union: History & Function	7. Income Distribution in America
___ 2. The Union: History & Function	8. Accomplishments of American Industry
___ 2. The Union: History & Function	9. The Business Cycle
___ 2. The Union: History & Function	10. The Farm Problem—National and State
___ 3. Social and Economic Security Legislation	4. Labor-Management Relations Legislation
___ 3. Social and Economic Security Legislation	5. Federal Regulatory Agencies
___ 3. Social and Economic Security Legislation	6. Automation
___ 3. Social and Economic Security Legislation	7. Income Distribution in America
___ 3. Social and Economic Security Legislation	8. Accomplishments of American Industry
___ 3. Social and Economic Security Legislation	9. The Business Cycle
___ 3. Social and Economic Security Legislation	10. The Farm Problem—National and State
___ 4. Labor-Management Relations Legislation	5. Federal Regulatory Agencies
___ 4. Labor-Management Relations Legislation	6. Automation
___ 4. Labor-Management Relations Legislation	7. Income Distribution in America
___ 4. Labor-Management Relations Legislation	8. Accomplishments of American Industry
___ 4. Labor-Management Relations Legislation	9. The Business Cycle
___ 4. Labor-Management Relations Legislation	10. The Farm Problem—National and State
___ 5. Federal Regulatory Agencies	6. Automation
___ 5. Federal Regulatory Agencies	7. Income Distribution in America
___ 5. Federal Regulatory Agencies	8. Accomplishments of American Industry
___ 5. Federal Regulatory Agencies	9. The Business Cycle
___ 5. Federal Regulatory Agencies	10. The Farm Problem—National and State
___ 6. Automation	7. Income Distribution in America
___ 6. Automation	8. Accomplishments of American Industry
___ 6. Automation	9. The Business Cycle
___ 6. Automation	10. The Farm Problem—National and State
___ 7. Income Distribution in America	8. Accomplishments of American Industry

___ 7. Income Distribution in America	9. The Business Cycle
___ 7. Income Distribution in America	10. The Farm Problem—National and State
___ 8. Accomplishments of American Industry	9. The Business Cycle
___ 8. Accomplishments of American Industry	10. The Farm Problem—National and State
___ 9. The Business Cycle	10. The Farm Problem—National and State

Part Three of Questionnaire

The following is a list of economic topics which might be discussed in a social studies class. Naturally we assume that all these topics will not be discussed. It is therefore very important that you check only those topics which you *do* ordinarily discuss, not those you think *should* be discussed. Place a check in front of each item which is discussed in your class.

___ 1. Social Security Act
___ 2. Federal Trade Commission
___ 3. Increased Production through Automation
___ 4. Bracero Program
___ 5. Progressive Taxation
___ 6. Taft-Hartley Act
___ 7. Monopoly and Anti-Trust Legislation
___ 8. Collective Bargaining
___ 9. Variety of Consumer Goods Available under Free Enterprise
___ 10. Medicare
___ 11. Landrum-Griffin Act
___ 12. Projected Leisure Time Through Automation
___ 13. The Wage-Price Spiral
___ 14. National Labor Relations Board
___ 15. Agricultural Surpluses
___ 16. Workmen's Compensation
___ 17. The Stock Market
___ 18. Poverty in America Today
___ 19. Political Activities of Unions
___ 20. Government Spending as a Means of Creating Jobs Today
___ 21. Arbitration, Conciliation, and Mediation
___ 22. The Legal Status of Corporations
___ 23. Welfare Programs
___ 24. Strikes, Picketing, Boycotts, and Lockouts
___ 25. Agricultural Price Supports
___ 26. High Productivity of American Workers

___ 27. Security Exchange Commission
___ 28. Job Dislocation Because of Automation
___ 29. Difference Between Ownership and Control of a Corporation
___ 30. Job Security vs. Featherbedding

APPENDIX D:

CLASSROOM TEACHING OF LABOR TOPICS, 11TH GRADE U. S. HISTORY AND 12TH GRADE U. S. GOVERNMENT AND AMERICAN PROBLEMS COURSES*

	U. S. History teachers (%)				U. S. Government and American Problems teachers (%)			
	None	One	Two	Three or more	None	One	Two	Three or more
Supplementary texts used as desk copies	39	21	27	13	16	36	29	19
Supplementary texts given to students	66	19	9	6	51	33	10	6
Pamphlets or periodicals used as desk copies	41	32	10	17	39	21	11	29
Pamphlets or periodicals given to students	41	36	14	9	28	32	17	23
	Affirmative		Negative		Affirmative		Negative	
Use of outside resource people	15		85		32		68	
Outside work assigned to students on labor-related topics	49		51		57		43	

* SOURCE: Part One of the Questionnaire. Responses in interviews of 55 teachers of U. S. History and 58 teachers of U. S. Government and American Problems.

APPENDIX E:

Relative Emphasis Ranking of ten Economic Subjects, U.S. History Teachers*

All teachers of U.S. History

1. Accomplishments of American Industry
2. The Farm Problem—National and State
3. Social and Economic Security Legislation
4. The Union: History and Function
5. Federal Regulatory Agencies
6. The Business Cycle
7. Labor-Management Relations Legislation
8. Automation
9. Income Distribution in America
10. The Modern Corporation

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* Source: Part Two of Questionnaire.

Professed liberal teachers of U.S. History

1. The Union: History and Function
2. Accomplishments of American Industry
3. Social and Economic Security Legislation
4. The Farm Problem—National and State
5. Labor-Management Relations Legislation
6. Federal Regulatory Agencies
7. Automation
8. The Business Cycle
9. Income Distribution in America
10. The Modern Corporation

Professed conservative teachers of U.S. History

1. Federal Regulatory Agencies
2. Accomplishments of American Industry
3. The Farm Problem—National and State
4. The Business Cycle
5. The Modern Corporation
6. Social and Economic Security Legislation
7. Labor-Management Relations Legislation
8. Income Distribution in America
9. The Union: History and Function
10. Automation

Relative Emphasis Ranking of ten Economic Subjects, U.S. Government and American Problems Teachers*

All teachers of U.S. Government and Problems

1. Federal Regulatory Agencies
2. The Business Cycle
3. The Farm Problem—National and State
4. Accomplishments of American Industry
5. Social and Economic Security Legislation
6. Labor-Management Relations Legislation
7. Income Distribution in America
8. Automation
9. The Union: History and Function
10. The Modern Corporation

---

* Source: Part Two of the Questionnaire

Professed liberal teachers of U.S. Government and Problems

1. Federal Regulatory Agencies
2. Social and Economic Security Legislation
3. The Union: History and Function
4. Labor-Management Relations Legislation
5. The Farm Problem—National and State
6. Automation
7. Accomplishments of American Industry
8. Income Distribution in America
9. The Modern Corporation
10. The Business Cycle

Professed conservative teachers of U.S. Government and Problems

1. The Business Cycle
2. Accomplishments of American Industry
3. Federal Regulatory Agencies
4. Income Distribution in America
5. The Farm Problem—National and State
6. The Modern Corporation
7. Social and Economic Security Legislation
8. Automation
9. Labor-Management Relations Legislation
10. The Union: History and Function

APPENDIX F:

Classroom Discussion of Economic and Labor Topics, 11th Grade U. S. History and 12th Grade U. S. Government and American Problems Courses*

	U. S. History teachers (%)		U. S. Government and American Problems teachers (%)	
	Discussion	No discussion	Discussion	No discussion
Social Security Act	84	16	96	4
Federal Trade Commission	70	30	78	22
Increased Production through Automation	66	34	70	30
Bracero Program	40	60	66	34
Progressive Taxation	64	36	84	16
Taft-Hartley Act	89	11	75	25
Monopoly and Anti-Trust Legislation	93	7	84	16
Collective Bargaining	87	13	76	24
Variety of Consumer Goods Available under Free Enterprise	39	61	75	25
Medicare	53	47	76	24
Landrum-Griffin Act	17	83	37	63
Projected Leisure Time Through Automation	55	45	66	34
The Wage-Price Spiral	59	41	70	30
National Labor Relations Board	80	20	64	36
Agricultural Surpluses	82	18	89	11
Workmen's Compensation	64	36	68	32
The Stock Market	80	20	75	25
Poverty in America Today	60	40	78	22
Political Activities of Unions	56	44	66	34
Government Spending as a Means of Creating Jobs Today	71	29	80	20
Arbitration, Conciliation, and Mediation	68	32	73	27
The Legal Status of Corporations	46	54	39	61
Welfare Programs	73	27	82	18
Strikes, Picketing, Boycotts, and Lockouts	89	11	82	18
Agricultural Price Supports	84	16	78	22
High Productivity of American Workers	53	47	70	30
Security Exchange Commission	62	38	73	27
Job Dislocation Because of Automation	71	29	75	25
Difference Between Ownership and Control of a Corporation	46	54	46	54
Job Security vs Featherbedding	46	54	70	30

* SOURCE: Part Three of the Questionnaire. Responses in interviews of 55 teachers of U. S. History and 58 teachers of U. S. Government and American Problems.

APPENDIX G:

Interviewer's Check Sheet

1. Social Security Act –
   a. Unemployment Compensation
   b. Survivor and Disability Insurance
   c. California Disability Act
2. Increased Production through Automation –
   a. Attitude
3. Progressive Taxation –
   a. Confiscatory?
4. Taft-Hartley Act –
   a. Right to Work Laws—closed, open and union shops
   b. Injunction
   c. Unfair Labor and Management Practices
5. Collective Bargaining –
   a. Public Policy
   b. Frequency of Success
6. Landrum-Griffin Act –
   a. Financial Accountability of Unions
   b. Election Supervision
7. National Labor Relations Board –
   a. What is it?
8. Poverty in America Today –
   a. Social or personal responsibility
9. Political Activities of Unions –
   a. Lobbying
10. Government Spending as a Means of Creating Jobs –
    a. Employment Act of 1946
11. Welfare Programs –
    a. Social or Personal Responsibility
12. Strikes, Picketing, Boycotts, Lockouts –
    a. Attitude toward public employees
    (If History teacher, Boston Police Strike, 1919)
13. High Productivity of American Workers –
    a. Link with High Wages
14. Job Dislocation because of Automation –
    a. Attitude
15. Job Security vs. Featherbedding –
    a. Open end